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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

BY

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TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

In Part I of this volume, I have attempted first to describe the typical attitudes which the child tends to assume toward the persons with whom he comes into contact in the ordinary situations of daily life, and to explain these attitudes in view of certain fundamental principles of mental development. To this end I have presented the results of observations of children's reactions under a variety of social conditions, the aim being to detect if possible the "natural" or impulsive tendencies in their responses. Then, in the second place, it has been my purpose to trace the changes in the child's adjustments to people which seem normally to occur in the process of development. This has required a mode of procedure in which the individual is followed from infancy to maturity along the several routes which lead to efficiency in social adaptation; and the ever-present question has been whether the child would on his own initiative follow these routes, or whether if left to himself he would stop on the way, or turn off in other directions. It has been my constant effort to note the actual tendencies of the child at different stages in his evolution, without regard to prevailing popular or theoretical conceptions of what he is or what he ought to be or to do.

I have undertaken in Part II certain phases of the difficult and interminable task of outlining a plan and method of education designed to make the individual socially efficient. My point of view might properly, I think, be said to be that of the naturalist rather than that of the logician or philosopher, or even the moralist or idealist. The problem before me constantly has been, — what *can* we do in social training, considering the nature of the individual and his social needs, rather than what *ought* we to do viewing the

matter from an ideal standpoint. What I have written is founded mainly upon data gained from experiments and methods which I have been able to study at first hand, or which have been furnished me by persons who have made observations for me, or who have given me an account of their experiences in the training of their own children. But while the purpose of this volume is for the most part to present the conclusions reached by one observer and adventurer in the training of children, still I have at most points compared the principles herein set forth with those advocated by the representative students of child-life and education from Plato down to our own times. In some cases I have called attention to the opinions of these writers without foot-note citations of book and page of their works, thinking it not necessary or desirable so to do. I have hoped that this volume might prove more or less tolerable to parents and teachers, as well as to students of mental development; and with this in mind I have avoided methods of treatment which would give it the appearance of being unduly technical or "learned." However, at the close of the book I have suggested a list of references for reading, which includes, I think, those books and articles which best present typical views since Plato's day of the social nature of the individual, and the most effective method of training him for social adjustment.

In its original form the volume contained a number of chapters treating of the relation between the social development of the individual and the evolution of social attitudes and institutions in the race. But these portions have finally been entirely eliminated; partly because with their inclusion the volume seemed to be too bulky, but mainly because upon reflection it has seemed best to omit from these pages all purely speculative and theoretical discussion. The author is very much interested in the general problem of recapitulation in human development, but he is bound to confess that at present it seems impossible to discuss the question in any

definite and positive manner, on account of the limitations of our knowledge in this field. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to confine the treatment to principles, the data for which could be observed at first hand and investigated experimentally.

With a view to clarifying the discussion throughout, and to economizing the time and energy of the general reader as well as the student, a marginal analysis and a detailed analytical index of the entire material have been made. Also the more important principles developed in the text have been summarized at the end of each chapter.

Special attention is called to the Exercises and Problems given in the last two chapters. These relate to the various subjects considered in the book; and they are designed to stimulate the student to test the principles developed, and to extend their application in every direction. They are intended further to suggest many phases of social development and education which have hardly been even touched upon in this volume. The lists given on each chapter have been chosen from a large number which have arisen in discussing the different topics with organizations of parents and teachers, and classes of university students. Only those exercises and problems have been selected which upon trial have proven to incite observation and effective reflection on the part of students, as well as those interested in the practical care and culture of childhood and youth. The author has found them to be of considerable service in arousing the interest of the reader, and in making real and vital the conclusions reached in the text.

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PART I

THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENTAL COURSE OF TYPICAL SOCIAL ATTITUDES

CHAPTER I

SOCIABILITY

STUDENTS of infancy have observed that during the first two months of life the child responds in only a vague, general, indefinite way to most of what exists and happens about him. He seems at this period hardly to have become awakened from the unconsciousness of the pre-natal epoch, when there was no stimulating environment impinging upon him and exciting him to adjustment of some sort. For several weeks in the beginning of his career, he shows little if any appreciation of the meaning and values of things surrounding him, except such as are brought into direct contact with his skin or his tongue. The expression of his features during this early period indicates that he does not discriminate objects on the basis of their power for good or ill in his life; he manifests no inclination to possess himself of certain ones, and to rid himself of others. The world plays on him incessantly, but he does not react upon it except in a very few instinctive ways. The infant is in reality static with reference to much that in due course will incite him to constant activity, in the effort to use it in some way to advance his interests.

Instinctive manifestations

It will, perhaps, seem to the reader simple enough that the child should not be dynamic in situations with which he has not had vital experience; for why should he be active when he has not learned that his activity will yield pleasure of some kind, or save him from discomfort? But it is worth while to make the point stand out clearly, that there is a period in the life of the individual when the environing world is practically undifferentiated in respect to values. Now, if we could describe in detail the course of the child in evaluating his environments, social and physical; and if

we could discover his method of determining values, noting the grounds upon which he estimates them, and the attitudes he assumes toward objects when their worth is revealed, we should have a complete account of his mental development. Our present task is, however, much simpler than this; it is merely to attempt to state the more important of the child's processes and attitudes in his efforts to evaluate his social environments, and to become most effectively adjusted thereto.

It is probable that the infant's earliest appreciation of values concerns persons as contrasted with inanimate objects. One who observes a three-months-old child smiling in response to the greetings of its caretaker can hardly fail to conclude that it is pleased, in its naïve and largely instinctive way, with *personal* association. The mother is overjoyed when she detects the first smile,[1] faint and fleeting though it may be, for she feels that this is a token of her child's recognition of people as distinct from things, and his pleasure in social relations. As the poet and idealist see it, — "With the first dawning smile upon the infant's face, the instinct of love awakes."[2]

By the beginning of the third month, the babe seems to realize, in a very general and obscure manner, of course, that the mother is an object with which it may hold communion, which is not the case with the nursing bottle or

[1] "To laugh, if but for an instant only, has never been granted to man before the fortieth day from his birth, and then it is looked upon as a miracle of precocity."— Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book vii, chap. i, Holland's translation.

An observer reports the following, in illustration of the point in question: "A little girl three months old watches her father whenever he comes within her range of vision. If he speaks to her or pays any attention to her she smiles and manifests her pleasure by various contortions and wiggles. Her father has always played with her every day, so she ought to know him well, but until he speaks she does not smile. In fact, she has a wondering, curious look in her eyes, which has sometimes made us question if she were trying to locate him in her experience, and was unable to accomplish it until his voice or action helped her to do so."

[2] Harrison, *The Study of Child-Nature from the Kindergarten Standpoint*, p. 75.

the rattle; these latter are to be *used* merely, not communed with. The child of four months, making efforts at "cooing" in response to its mother's salutations, taken together with its accompanying demonstrations of a really remarkable character, such as holding and forcibly expelling the breath, the heightened activity of all the bodily members, the significant expressiveness of the features, — these suggest strongly its *awareness of personal presence*, which cannot be detected when it is reacting upon other situations. Thus early does the child, in just a dim, glimmering way it must be, distinguish between things to be tested, experimented with, put to some service, and persons to be enjoyed, to be depended upon for protection, to be appealed to in moments of distress. To a certain extent, doubtless, persons are differentiated from objects by the child as his days increase, because they can be used to so much greater advantage: they can aid him in attaining goods which he lacks strength and skill to secure; they can serve as colleagues or competitors in his games; they can guard him against harm and the like, of which much will be said presently. But when one sees an infant reciprocating the loving expressions of his mother, and later pleading with her to remain near by merely that he may enjoy her presence, it seems beyond question that he has brought with him the rudiments of genuine sociable feeling,[1] which causes him to ascribe a special value to persons, and to desire to have friendly intercourse with them. Whether this feeling remains pure and unadulterated, or becomes organized with other feelings of an egotistic character, is not in question; we will turn to this later. Nor does it matter in

[1] Cooley (*Human Nature and the Social Order*, p. 47) holds that the early manifestations of sociability indicate less fellow-feeling than the adult imagines. They are, according to this author, largely expressions of a pleasure which persons excite, chiefly because they offer such a variety of stimuli to sight, hearing, and touch. He says (p. 50), "I take it that the child has by heredity a generous capacity and need for social feeling. . . . It is not so much any particular personal emotion or sentiment as the undifferentiated material of many: perhaps sociability is as good a word for it as any."

this connection to say that the young child will appraise his dog and his kitten in the same way as he does his father and mother and nurse; to him they probably belong for a time to this class of objects which may be communed with, and which we have called persons. In due course, we shall see through what experiences they become differentiated so that they cannot be communed with in the same way as can persons, or to the same extent, or with reference to the same interests.

Passion for personal intercourse

It is not too much to say that there is a kind of hunger for personal intercourse which the child experiences before he has completed even six months among us. As early as the fifth month, the mere proximity of mother or father will often give him peace, when otherwise he may be restless, discontented, unhappy. Sully,[1] touching upon this point, says that "children are instinctively attachable and sociable in so far as they show in the first weeks that they get used to and dependent on the human presence, and are miserable when this is taken from them. . . . In this instinct of companionship there is involved a vague inarticulate sympathy. Just as the attached dog may be said to have in a dim fashion a feeling of oneness with its master, so the child." Some children from the sixth month on cannot endure to be "left to themselves" at all during their waking hours. It is not merely fanciful to say that the child brings with him a kind of generalization of long ages of ancestral experience, to the effect that it is well for a person to be with people because of the advantages to be derived from social unity and coöperation. Kirkpatrick,[2] speaking from the evolutionary standpoint, declares that "desire for companionship is the natural inheritance of an ancestry that must have sought it in order to survive. . . . Most children manifest a desire for the presence of adults before they can walk." It is maintained

[1] *Studies of Childhood*, pp. 242, 243.
[2] *Fundamentals of Child-Study*, p. 119.

by evolutionists generally that the passion for social intercourse, and even the institution of society itself, had their origin in service of a physical sort which men could render to one another.

But however this may be, service of the sort indicated is not the only nor the chief source of pleasure which the young child derives from personal relations. It is true that at the outset the parents, and most if not all the other persons about the child, minister to his physical needs in some way; but it is significant that his display of pure sociability does not occur principally when his physical wants are being attended to, but rather when the mother's beaming face is bending over his, and she is calling to him in gentle love-tones. After the first year, the child will show marked pleasure in responding to the father's salutations, even though the latter has not been of service to him physically. If we may infer anything respecting a child's conscious processes from his intonations, featural expressions, and the like, we are entitled to hold that he is pleasurably affected in the presence of his mother, say, because in his dawning consciousness he feels her to be a friend, in all that this implies of service and good-will and protection and confidence, — a feeling which has slowly developed through long periods of social experience. Possibly the evolution in phylogenesis of the attitude denoted by "friend" was dependent at every step upon coöperation and protection in the struggle for existence; but the child seems to come into possession of the attitude without having first to experience consciously the factors out of which it has developed.

The feeling of dependence as one source of social expression

It is not intended here to imply that the child's eagerness to be in the presence of persons, and to enter into active relations with them, is due wholly to the feeling of pure sociability, into which no "selfish" factor enters. As he develops and the range of his contact with the world increases, he often, no doubt, wishes to be with people so that he can

make use of them to accomplish feats of skill and daring which unaided he cannot himself achieve. It is probable that after the second year, at any rate, the feeling of sociability is always bound up with other feelings arising out of the child's tendency to experiment with his personal environment, in the effort to learn people, and to master and use them in the realization of his needs. In "mastering his environments" the individual must, of course, become skillful in those activities which will be required of him for later adjustments; and since a large proportion of these activities are directly social in intent and outcome, it is imperative that he should have associates to practice upon. So that his eagerness to be with companions in his play is based in part, though he is not aware of it, upon this great need in learning to handle himself effectively in social situations. From the third year on, the child strives unceasingly to perform his feats, and thus to display all his powers and commendable qualities, in the presence of people, and in coöperation with them. In any undertaking he will always do his best according to prevailing ideals, as he appreciates them, if there are spectators at hand, or if he has a competitor or an antagonist; and what at first glance may appear to be sociability, without admixture of anything else, may often be an outgrowth to some extent of these other interests.

The principle is that when the child begins to move about in the world, thus establishing needs beyond his own ability to gratify, he manifests strong sociable attachment, partly, doubtless, so that he may have the aid of competent persons to accomplish his desires. Even when he pleads to be allowed to accompany his father and mother in their trips from home, he has it in the depths of his mind to make use of them to protect him, and to show him sights which otherwise he could not see.[1] But these experiences

[1] Cooley (*op. cit.* p. 48) maintains that "the delight in companionship so evident in children may be ascribed partly to specific social emotion or sen-

seem often to enrich sociable expression. When the child leaves his home with his parents, he usually becomes more expressive of social feeling than when he is in his nursery. He "takes hold of hands," his voice becomes soft and appealing, he grows confidential in his communications, and he assumes a deferential attitude toward his elders; who are now in a very real way felt to be his guides and his protectors. He shows this same tendency, in effect, when he goes into strange regions with his brother or sister. Within the walls of his own house, where nothing is unfamiliar to him, and he has no sense of danger, he may be quarrelsome and spiteful, refusing to coöperate with any one or to share his possessions; but on the street he is likely to have a quite different attitude, being docile, gentle, and dependent. This transformation is less marked with older children, though it may usually be observed until the advent of youth at any rate. Later we shall see that the child is on occasion combative, aggressive, resentful, as well as sociable, in a positive sense; and that his antisocial impulses tend to be expressed when he is competing with others under such conditions that he does not feel the need of keeping their good-will and securing their protection, as in the average home where he is shielded from the aggression of strange people.

Unquestionably the child's inherited suspicion of danger in an unfamiliar environment plays a leading rôle in his manifestations of sociability. It holds in leash the aggressive impulses, and calls to the front those that have for their

timent, and partly to a need of stimulating suggestions to enable them to gratify their instinct for various sorts of mental and physical activity. The influence of the latter appears in their marked preference for active persons, for grown-up people who will play with them — provided they do so with tact — and especially for other children."

Again, on p. 122, he says, "A healthy mind, at least, does not spend much energy on things that do not in some way contribute to its development; ideas and persons that lie wholly aside from the direction of its growth, or from which it has absorbed all they have to give, necessarily lack interest for it, and so fail to awaken sympathy."

object to win the friendship and so the assistance of others. As he develops and has experience in ever-enlarging regions of his environment, the sense of danger will gradually become dissipated, and other feelings will take its place; but these will exert a somewhat similar influence upon his social attitudes. As his experiences increase and his sphere of adjustment expands, he will discover that his prosperity in every respect depends upon the good-will of his fellows, and he will therefore be stimulated all the more strongly to secure this good-will. It is probable that people who do not feel any dependence upon their associates (if there really are such) are in fact less sociable than those who feel such a relation. The very rich, for instance, are as a rule, though there are many exceptions, much less social in their outward expressions than those who earn their daily bread, and who on that account are constantly aware of their dependence upon others. This gives rise to a very complex emotional attitude which, in its expression, appears to be genuine sociability.

The appearance of the highest form of sociable feeling.

The individual does not manifest the highest form of sociable feeling until the adolescent reformation is well under way. At about the age of fifteen with girls, and a year or two later with boys, there appears an interest in people for their own sake, because of their worth as personalities with feelings like their own. This is in some part at least often a religious attitude; and the more active and demonstrative the general religious feelings, the more pronounced are the sociable tendencies. Church-going people are probably more expressive, at any rate, of their sociable feeling than are those who are wholly uninfluenced by any of the activities centring in the church. Of course, it is understood that reference is here made to the Christian religion primarily, which puts emphasis upon the relation of man to man, teaching that one should love his neighbor as himself.

As the child grows into boyhood or girlhood, the passion

for mere personal presence declines, at least in most cases, and in its general manifestations; though, as we shall see presently, this may be due to the increasing powers of imagery, which makes it possible for the child to enjoy personal presence, even though persons are not present in the flesh. The five-year-old seeks association with those, mainly, who can help him to carry forward his enterprises, whatever they may be, or in general to make life interesting to him. Above all things else, he seeks the society of those who can *play* with him; and this means much, which will be developed at length in another place. Children from three on through the adolescent period generally choose as companions those of about their own experience and tendencies. They are more sociable with such companions than with most adults, or with others of their own age who cannot play as they do. Of course if an adult can become as a child and thus adapt himself to the child's spontaneity, he will be chosen above all other companions, because he can be of so much greater service to the child.

Favorites and aliens among children

As Cooley[1] puts it, "Persons, especially those that share his (the child's) interests, maintain and increase their ascendency, and other children, preferably a little older and of more varied resources than himself, are particularly welcome. Among grown-ups he admires most those who do something that he can understand, whom he can appreciate as actors and producers — such as the carpenter, the gardener, the maid in the kitchen. R. invented the happy word 'thinger' to describe this sort of people, and while performing similar feats would proudly proclaim himself a 'thinger.'"

One can detect almost instantly the sociable attitude in a boy or girl of nine, say, when brought into the presence of a playmate who is genuine and capable, which implies the possession of courage, versatility, ingenuity, and other qualities; while they are more reserved and ill at ease when

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 289.

in contact with one who may be "good" but who cannot "do things." Mere static goodness is not rated high among children of any age. Autobiographical sketches, such as Warner's *Being a Boy*, White's *The Court of Boyville*, Burnett's *The One I Knew Best of All*, and sympathetic glimpses of child-life, such as one finds in Graham's *The Golden Age*, Nesbit's *The Would-be-Goods* and *The Pleasure Seekers*, Ruth McEnery Stuart's *Sonny*, and many others, are all full of illustrations of the principle in question. S. and V. are what might be called typical boys of seven and nine respectively. They have had many boy acquaintances and numerous companions; but gradually they are eliminating all but a few who are especially ready and fertile in all sorts of play and adventure. Some of the boys they "like" are inclined to be rough in speech and act, but they are chosen above "better" boys because they know how to carry through many games, and perform all manner of difficult tricks. Ask S. or V. why he likes these rough boys, and why he does not cultivate the gentler ones, and it will at once become apparent that the source of interest is in the leadership of the more favored boys.

In the same way, H. at eleven chooses her companions mainly for their skill and perseverance in play. Girls who are timid and self-conscious, or who do not "know what to do," or who tire quickly, or who easily take offense and refuse to play, or who are quarrelsome and break up the group, — all such types are gradually left out of account.[1] Several of such girls have already passed entirely out of the circle of H.'s acquaintanceship, and she apparently never

[1] Sometimes a child who cannot himself play effectively, or suggest new activities to the group, will nevertheless be a favorite because of some of his qualities which the group can use to advantage. The following case illustrates the principle: —

Five little girls, all about ten or eleven years of age, formed "A Doll Club." Four were daughters of well-to-do professional parents; their mothers were club women. These four came from families socially superior to the family of the fifth girl. The fifth girl was really not very bright, nor was she well dressed or well cared for, but, while she could not suggest new games,

thinks of them. She is not much affected by children who are commonly described as being "refined" or "religious," or even "nice" or "quiet" or "loving."

There is a different type of child from any of those referred to who does not inspire sociable expression in his associates. This is the boastful or dominantly egotistic type, the one who makes those around him feel that he regards himself as superior to them for one reason or another, on account of his personal appearance, it may be, or the wealth of his family, or his excellence in studies, or what not. According to my observations, this trait is not manifested in the early years, not before the period of adolescence; but it does frequently show itself after the twelfth or thirteenth year. In later adolescence, it is often seen in an accentuated form. Freshmen in college sometimes make themselves quite offensive to their fellows because of their "putting on airs." It is of special significance that the group always attempts to "take the starch out of" one of their number who by word or manner conveys the impression that he esteems himself as above his associates, which should lead him to hold himself aloof from them, or patronize them in any way.

Sociability can manifest itself only among those who are on an equality, in most respects, at any rate. There must be community of ability, merit, rank, so to speak, as well as community of interest, in order that persons should maintain sociable relations with one another; and as children develop group unity and solidarity, they tend to become dynamic in reducing to the general level or rusticating those who make a show of their feeling of preëminence. In the public schools, boys, and to a less degree girls, will harass one of their number who "feels his clothes," or who for any reason attempts to establish himself on a plane above that occupied

she was gentle and was a good follower. Some rich relative had given her a beautiful doll, which, together with her gentleness, gained her an admission into a socially superior class. The four rich girls refused to receive other poor girls whose dolls were shabby, both because they were poor and their dolls were poor. (Reported by A. M. J.)

by the group. Of course, if a boy is superior in combative ability his associates are likely, for reasons of self-preservation, to acknowledge his superiority if he insists upon it; but if he goes to the extent of playing the bully, the group will sooner or later bring him to heel. If he be a leader in sports and games, he will, of course, be encouraged and followed without protest from any one; but under such circumstances his associates do not feel that he is "proud" or "haughty" or "conceited," as they are certain to feel respecting the boy who is vain over mere static possessions, as wealth or rank, and the like.

There is a profound significance in the tendency of children to exalt dynamic accomplishments and subordinate everything of a static character. It is as though the child wished to utilize every moment in learning how to live the simple, concrete, elemental life, not only in play but in other ways; and so he is interested in those persons only who can be of assistance to him by setting him a copy to imitate, or furnishing him material to practice on. Toward such persons, be they young or old, he will manifest sociability; but toward others he will be indifferent, or even hostile. The parent and the governess who can "do things" will be admired by children and their good-will cultivated; but others will be neglected or opposed. It is worthy of remark that what are often regarded as the highest social and moral qualities do not appeal to the individual strongly, at least until the adolescent period is nearing completion. They are apparently not dynamic enough for him, not elementary and fundamental enough. Before the adolescent epoch, children rarely, if ever, become enthusiastic over a companion or an adult who is quiet and reserved, even one who speaks to the child and acts toward him in a tender and affectionate manner. Boys at any rate spontaneously choose those who are not over-careful of the results of their actions, if only they bring things to pass within the sphere of understanding and interest of the child.

Children will endure without a word of complaint, and really with apparent enjoyment, quite harsh, rude handling from an older playmate or a parent, if it is administered in the spirit of play.

Until he has reached the adolescent age, the child seems to pay little heed to caste stratifications in any community.[1] The son of the millionaire will, if he gets the chance, play freely, without any feeling of condescension, with the son of the day laborer; and this not infrequently happens in consequence of the democratic character of our public school system. The writer has been studying carefully, and for quite a long period, the social groupings of the children in the public schools of a Western city, where the conditions are unusually favorable for determining when the young begin to feel and to be governed by the social distinctions of the adults in the community. The schools are so situated that each draws children from most of the typical social groups, —from the homes of the rich, the poor, the idle, the industrious, the intelligent, and the illiterate; from the homes of governors, law-makers, and judges, as well as from those in which no one dwells who has ever held public office. So far as one can tell, the pupils in the elementary schools, with the possible exception of the seventh and eighth grades, are quite unconscious of the social status of their respective families, though in some cases the parents make a constant effort to impress this upon their children. On the playground, as well as in the classroom, the young are con-

The influence upon the child of adult social stratification

[1] Even when parents are hostile to one another, and endeavor to keep their children apart, the latter will often come together in spite of opposition. The following instance given by a correspondent illustrates the principle: "G. and B. lived across the street from each other. Their fathers were rival doctors, and hated each other to the extreme limit. Every action and word manifested it. The mothers never spoke to one another. Conversation between the parents of one family regarding the other was not at all guarded, so both girls must have known of the animosity; yet they were always together, and one never cared to go to school or to a party without the other. B.'s mother made objection to the friendship, but it did no good. The mothers often laughed with their friends about it."

cerned with individual members of groups on the basis alone of their personal qualities, and not their social standing or connections. The children who are competent in the activities of the playground, and so who can lead, are always the favorites, for the time being at any rate, while the incompetent or uninteresting or ugly are as a rule left to themselves. It is true that a number of more or less exclusive groups have been formed, but not on the basis of the social status of the families represented, though it sometimes appears to be so, since children who are brought together by their parents outside of school, as in parties or dancing classes, tend to group together on the playground simply because they are acquainted with each other. If one will study these groups, he will see that they are generally not conscious of differences in social status; they cling together on the basis solely of familiarity.

Parents are, of course, responsible for determining to some extent the associates of their children outside of school, and they attempt to preserve the alignment of the social strata; so that in effect the groupings on a general playground are often along social lines viewed from without, but not lines drawn or even appreciated by the young themselves. For the reason indicated, there is a tendency among the children who live in a given section of a community, and who see much of one another out of school, to "keep company" in the school. But after all, this is really important only in respect to the groupings of girls, for boys usually ignore sectional limitations in their choice of companions. They do not even respect color limitations, at least in the city to which allusion has been made, though it is different, as the writer has observed, in the southern part of our country.

Sociability on the basis of dress distinctions

Dress plays no part in the groupings among the boys; and its rôle among the girls, up to the sixth or seventh grade, is of slight consequence, except in rare instances where parents insist upon the importance of clothes in determining the companionship

of their children. As one listens to the spontaneous conversation of girls under eleven years of age, he does not hear reference made often to the dress of any playmate or schoolmate. Associates or acquaintances are not praised or criticised on account of their clothes. Normally the mind of the girl of this age is full of dynamic things, and she talks generally of what a companion or schoolmate *can do*, whether she is good at girl's games, whether she has skill in doll play, whether she can draw and paint well, and so on. In short, contrary to much popular philosophy, girls before adolescence, are not *clothes-minded* to any impressive extent.

One hears it frequently said that children naturally choose as companions those who are "bright" and "intelligent." As commonly interpreted, to be "bright" means that the child is a leader in the school. We have noted above that a person who is merely static is never a social favorite, no matter how "good" he may be; and the principle applies to his intellectual abilities. If he can see through a game quickly; or if he knows the habits of animals, and how to ensnare them; or if he understands machinery and can make things "go," he will be acceptable. But mere excellence in studies is not regarded by children as of worth for sociability; they are not more inclined to choose the boy at the top of the class than the one at the foot. Indeed, the latter is often a social favorite. S. and V. like, above all their companions, two boys who are a grade behind in school. These latter boys belong to the motor type, and they can do many things which interest their associates, while some of their more bookishly brilliant companions seem to them rather uninteresting because they do not know how to "do things." Superiority in books is for the normal boy up to adolescence no guarantee of real merit; books are as yet too remote from the dynamic life which alone has value for the child.[1]

On the basis of intellectual attainments

[1] Any one who has had much experience with boys will recognize the following type: —

One of the most popular boys in a high school of seventy students, if not

However, girls of nine or ten often admire one of their schoolmates who is superior in the work of the school. Earlier than the boys, the girls begin to feel the worth of intellectual superiority as displayed in schoolroom situations, and they tend to regard as a model one who can easily accomplish what they are striving to attain. Of course, it sometimes operates in just the reverse way; when a number are striving for a prize, say, the one who wins it may receive the envy and even the hatred of some of those who fail.

If one were writing of sociability among children in England, say, or France, or Italy, he would need to qualify somewhat the statements made above, since in these countries the young are led from the cradle on to observe the social distinctions so prominent in adult society. One sees in Paris or Rome, for instance, the children of the different classes educated in separate schools; and they are constantly impressed with the notion that they must not be friendly with any but the members of their class. At the public schools in England, especially at Eton, the boys who come from aristocratic homes are inclined in the beginning to shun all but the boys of their respective social groups; but before they are in the school many weeks, the distinctions established with such trouble by parents, governesses, and tutors are largely if not entirely obliterated. All the evidence indicates that before adolescence, speaking generally, young boys particularly will, if left to themselves, ignore the conventional groupings of adult society, and establish their own groupings on the basis alone of efficiency in activities of interest in childhood.[1] Then they will manifest

the most popular one, was the son of an exceedingly poor and lazy farmer. He was not even up to the average in his scholarship; but his companions sought him out because, apparently, he was as they put it "a good fellow." He was a leading member of the football team, catcher on the baseball team, and a thoroughly good story-teller. In short, he did the things that interested boys. (Reported by J. N.)

[1] A teacher who has had an excellent opportunity to study the social development of children, writes the author in respect to the age when she has observed that groupings on economic or similar bases begin to occur. It is

sociability toward those, no matter to what class they belong, who can coöperate with them in the enterprises in which they are interested. They will not feel active opposition toward others as a rule; they will simply pass them by.

All students of adolescence have noticed that the changes that occur at this time exert a marked influence upon the sociable tendencies of individuals, making them exceedingly active in some directions and weakening them in others. Expressions in response to the opposite sex become so accentuated, and assume such a peculiar character, that they must be treated in a separate place. At the advent of this epoch the individual, especially the girl, begins to take account of the stratifications existing in adult society, and she gradually comes to choose her associates in accordance therewith. In the early years, wealth, with its varied social manifestations, is largely ignored by the child, but at adolescence it begins to intrude itself upon her attention, and so to determine her social attitudes.[1] If she does not herself belong to the

Influence of adolescent development upon sociability

my impression that the cases cited below are very rare, but I give them as they have been described to me: —

"In a town of about twelve hundred inhabitants with which I am familiar, a group of girls considering themselves socially superior to the other members of the school was formed as early as the fourth grade. It was rare for them to take any one into the group, or to mingle in any way with other children. They even showed a marked hostility toward some children who were much superior to them in scholarship, but were in very ordinary circumstances financially.

"In a city of some eight or nine thousand, a similar grouping is a troublesome problem in the fourth grade.

"In a school situated in a college region of ——, I knew a group of girls that existed in the fifth grade (I don't know when it was formed), the chief basis for which grouping appeared to be a like scholarliness of the parents, — a similarity of tastes. In that school there is organized play during intermissions. These girls apparently considered themselves superior to games in the sixth grade, and it was with great reluctance that they were persuaded to participate therein. They enjoyed better their own quiet conversation. They played games at home, however.

"In none of these instances did a similar grouping occur among the boys."

[1] A principal of a public school contributes the following testimony: —

"I have noticed that the boy who early leaves school to go to work soon

wealthy class, she commences to feel restrained in the presence of those, once her playmates, who possess more of this world's goods than she does. Where formerly she made no distinctions in persons except on a dynamic basis, she now gives the right of way to those who display their wealth, though they may not be real leaders. But she defers to them; wealth to her means, in a subtle way, power and social precedence. At the same time, the wealthy members in the group begin to clique together because of community of opportunity and interest, and gradually to terminate sociable relations with those who in their younger years they may have admired for their skill and leadership. In the high school, and even in the seventh and eighth grades, fraternities and sororities flourish easily, and the members of any particular group grow intense in their sociability with one another, but indifferent, or even hostile, to those outside the charmed circle. Early friendships are often broken, and new connections formed.

This is true more generally of the girls than of the boys, possibly because of the special influence of mothers over their daughters; the social distinctions of adult society, conventional and otherwise, are enforced upon girls more rigorously than upon boys.[1] The latter, more effectually

drops the companions he had at school and finds his delight in associating with the boys who are working as he does. He assumes an air of importance when he meets his old companions. He seems to think that he is somehow on a higher plane than the others. He thinks the boy in school is "green" and unfortunate in that he is obliged to attend school. He adapts himself to the habits and customs of those associated with him. This continues until he has entirely drifted away from his old associates. By this time he begins to see that his old associates have gained something which he lacks. He sees that they are superior to him now, and that he cannot compete with them. His mind now tends to become embittered. He is jealous and envious. His disposition becomes soured. He clings closer to those of his own class. He joins their unions and societies, and is a fit subject for strikes and riots. This is, of course, a rather extreme case."

[1] The following is contributed by A. H.: —

"In a town of seven hundred people, I had a girl in high school who was the richest girl in the school. Her society was eagerly sought by all the so-called 'swell dressers' in school. They were respectful in their attitude

than the former, resist the forces from without that urge on to a re-alignment among the social groupings. To some extent, boys continue even during adolescence to be sociable with those who are efficient in games, or in any forms of masculinity, even in fighting. In the high school, the all-round athletes are usually favorites, and they are shown marked attention by their fellows, who will serve them in every way and strive to interest and please them. This is very noticeable in such boy groups as are found at Eton or Rugby or similar schools, where intellectual and athletic superiority will keep a boy at the head of a group, though his parents may occupy an inferior social position. This principle may be observed operating also in military schools in our own country, where an opportunity is given the boys to express their sociable tendencies; and in institutions like Boy City, the George Junior Republic, and similar communities of boys practicing self-government largely.

It should be impressed here that there are operating on children from without certain natural agencies which tend to segregate them into groups on the adult social basis when

toward her, and seemed perfectly happy if they could gain her good-will. However, there was another class of so-called 'poor' girls who drew away from her, not because she repelled them, perhaps, but because they felt out of place in her presence. They seemed to be much affected by the evident contrast between their own circumstances and those of this girl as shown in matters of dress, jewelry, the home, etc. When I first saw this girl in the grades she was meek, demure, and humble in her manner, but after two years in the high school she had become haughty, overbearing in many ways, and tended to avoid girls younger than herself. She and her circle were in the habit of making fun of girls who were poorly dressed, but in many cases more brilliant intellectually than they. In fact, one of this group was the biggest dunce in school, while one of the girls outside of this group was the brightest girl in school.

"From my observation in the high school, I should say that girls group on the basis of ability to dress in the latest styles and in finest patterns. 'Why, Florence wears a silk waist to school every day,' was a remark I once overheard. I heard a girl of twelve years relate to her mother how many of the girls wore new hats and how many had hats which were made over from old ones.

"If a girl can say witty things and entertain with jokes and stories she may be popular, but this is always a secondary matter, according to my observation."

they enter the high school. Even in our country, the majority of the pupils in the elementary school do not for economic reasons go beyond the grammar grades. As a rule only those who are at least fairly well-to-do can afford to spend in study four years following the eighth grade. On the whole, the children of the laboring class must become wage-earners by the time they are fifteen, and this removes them from those who are so situated that they can continue in school. Inevitably, then, companionship will be broken up at this point, and class distinctions will begin to be manifested. But these distinctions are not made by the children, but are inherent in our social organization.

Further, children who are well-to-do are naturally drawn together to the exclusion of those in humble circumstances, because they are able to participate in activities and indulge themselves in ways which are impossible for the indigent; so the latter simply drop out by themselves without any active opposition on the part of the others. It is of importance for our present purpose to note that often adolescent boys and girls preserve their childhood grouping for games and plays, but have new groupings for their "party" activities, — their sociables, dances, card and sleighing parties, and the like. It is probable that boys would be much slower than they are in making the new groupings if it were not for the girls, who tend earlier to insist upon the exclusion of certain boys and the inclusion of others in all social functions. The principle here in question might be much extended, so that we could say that men, if not influenced to the contrary by women, would fail to adopt the social distinctions which exist in modern society. In companies of men who are somewhat separated from complex social groups, as in lumbering and mining camps, thoroughgoing democracy prevails. Under such conditions, individuals are rated on a dynamic basis, and all forms of caste distinctions are ignored. But the importation of women into such a community leads rapidly to stratification along lines indicated above.

The principle sought to be developed here is that new bases for the expression of sociability gradually become established during adolescence. For one thing, economic independence seems to narrow the range of sociable feeling, speaking generally. This is doubtless due, in its origin, to the development of a feeling on the part of the individual of wealth that the person in humble circumstances can contribute nothing to his pleasure, unless he be a specialist in some sort of service, when he will be paid for what he does. So far as the adolescent is concerned, the recognition of such distinctions is often due to the constant allusion by his elders to the divisions in society between those who have and those who have not. M. at fifteen is made to feel by the group in which her companions are found that if she walks or visits with a certain girl in another group she will displease the members of the first group, and may forfeit their friendship. They make her realize in many ways that she must confine her sociable expressions closely within the special group; or, at least, she must not be friendly, except in a charitable way, with persons "lower" in the social scale. And "lower" means usually, though not in every case, of less evident wealth, which is revealed in a variety of social manifestations, as superior dress, houses, furniture, horses and carriages, splendor of receptions, and the like. In the newer parts of our country, lineage is not an important basis for social distinction, though if it be coupled with wealth it is taken advantage of, by the girl especially, before she has completed her teens. But ancestry is not a sufficiently tangible thing strongly to impress the adolescent, though it may loom larger and larger as he approaches adulthood. The individual just entering youth cannot appreciate very subtle bases for social distinction; he must be impressed by a marked display of one sort or another in order that he may really feel that he is either superior or inferior to his fellows in the social order, or their equal.

Social stratification on the basis of economic status

So the adolescent, as he draws toward maturity, is exceedingly active in trying to find his level in the social scale. As a boy, full of dynamic interests, he did not appreciate that there were levels which separated people who lived within visiting distance of each other; but the moment he began to give up efficiency in play as the great dominating aim in his life, that moment he entered upon a new order of social distinctions, which he had first to recognize and afterwards adapt himself to. Then he commenced the struggle to reach the highest level possible, and he found most of those about him doing the same. Why people desired to attain this "highest level," he probably did not in a serious way attempt to determine; he simply felt the tension, and gave way in the direction to release it.

Without question, then, the primary basis for social regrouping during adolescence is of a monetary character, but it is not the only one. A "clever" boy or girl, if not too evidently lacking in this world's goods, may be made a favorite by those of larger means. So the leading scholar of the school, though indigent, may sometimes be sought after by the sororities and fraternities; but it is rare that his scholarship alone attracts friends to him, although this is sometimes observed in simple communities, as in rural regions, where class distinctions have developed but slightly, the community remaining quite homogeneous. But in complex social groups, besides being a shining mark for his scholarship, and so adding some measure of dignity to the group to which he belongs, a youth must at the same time be unusually interesting in some way in order that the upper class may be friendly with him. Often the wealthy youths of both sexes are sought after without regard to their moral or intellectual qualities, or substantial accomplishments in any line; but it is otherwise with the boy or girl of slender means. The personal qualities of the latter must be of the highest order, that they may be noticed and made the bases for social expression by the economically independent.

This fact is plainly apparent in any educational institution of secondary school or college grade, where there is a considerable body of indigent students who must "work their own way." Seldom, indeed, do the more favored groups manifest friendly interest in their poorer classmates. An exception is found in the case of a distinguished athlete, or musician, perhaps, or literary genius. The unusual man or woman intellectually, if poor, may be largely ignored by his fellows, so far as sociable expression is concerned, though instances of a contrary sort might be cited. The Phi Beta Kappa students are not as a rule favorites in the groups that really give character to college social life, at least in many institutions. Happily, though, in our great state universities at any rate, the groupings are so varied that a student may find a place in some one of them, no matter what may be his economic status.

The Young Men's Christian Association, for instance, is always open to the student of upright intentions, whether he be rich or poor. It cuts through all social strata, and is friendly toward a man regardless of his economic condition, or even his intellectual or other attainments. But this institution is an illustration of an entirely different social grouping from anything noticed heretofore. It is formed for the explicit purpose of promoting good-will and friendliness among men regardless of their social relations; it seeks opportunities for friendly expression; while these other groups that have been mentioned have in view solely the interests of the members thereof. The fraternity invites a man to enter into friendly relations with its members because it is thought that he will add to the pleasures of the group; he perhaps is clever, or is generous in the use of his money, or his family enjoys social distinction, and connection with it will add dignity to the fraternity, and so on. But the Young Men's Christian Association reaches out for a man when it is apparent that it can help him by bringing him into contact with men who will

Charitable tendencies in sociability

fraternize with him, and so save him from social isolation. This new attitude in sociability, which is not prominent until the individual gets well along in adolescent development, is of the utmost importance in contemporary advanced societies. As a result of it, practically every person in larger communities, no matter what may be his condition, — economic, intellectual, or even moral, — has opportunities for friendly intercourse with his kind. Perhaps the majority of people among us are predominantly "selfish" in their sociability, but there are enough of those of a different temper to make the lot of the social misfits less unfortunate than it otherwise would be. While this charitable tendency in sociability is most marked in maturity, still it begins to be strongly manifested before adolescence is completed, at least among those who continue under educational influences. It often happens that men and women who were intensely selfish in their friendliness as high-school students decide, as college seniors, to devote their lives to social settlement or missionary work.

Before the adolescent period, children rarely show a disposition to commune with other children for the good they may do them; in their sociable expressions they apparently do not have at all in view the feelings of some needy classmate, say. They do not show an inclination to sacrifice their own pleasure for that of others who may be made happy by their friendly advances. Parents have to suggest, and even urge, that their children pay a visit to other children "who are lonely." During the pre-adolescent epoch, the young are but little affected by the representations of an uninteresting playmate as being "lonesome." They do not respond pleasantly when they are asked to invite him to play or dine with them; they suggest some one in his place. They are not moved, either, when they are told that they ought to stay at home to keep a lonely brother or sister company. In short, children are not normally charitable in their sociability. They choose their

companions for the same reason in principle that they choose apples or sugar, — because they get from them pleasure, though of a peculiar sort. It should be noted, however, that children often show a friendly interest in some schoolmate who is sick. They will suggest taking food or flowers to him, though I have not observed very marked tendencies of this sort in young children. Their interest in the unfortunate is at best but momentary; and usually a sick companion will speedily be forgotten for one who can partake in the plays and games of the group.

Résumé

During the first two months the child exhibits practically no appreciation of values as presented in his environment. It is probable that his first differentiation of values occurs in respect to persons as contrasted with things. From the beginning of his third month, the child manifests an inclination to commune with persons. In his intonations and featural expression in response to persons, he shows he is more or less instinctively social. With development, at least from the second year on, sociability becomes bound up with other feelings, arising out of the child's efforts to adjust himself to his environment, social and otherwise. Prominent among these feelings are the inherited feeling of danger, and the feeling of dependence upon others.

The highest form of sociable feeling, the interest in people for their own personal worth, does not manifest itself until the advent of the adolescent period — at about the fifteenth year with girls, and a year or two later with boys. As the child grows into boyhood or girlhood, the desire for mere personal presence subsides, and interest in people becomes dynamic in character. The basis for choice of companions now is leadership. Toward persons, young or old, who can "do things," sociability is manifested. The group disciplines any one of its number, unless he be a leader, who assumes superiority in any way. The highest moral and intellectual qualities do not appeal to the child strongly as bases for sociable expression.

Adult social stratification does not appeal to the child. Groupings on the basis of social or economic status are not normally made or appreciated by children, but are due to proximity of residence and the influence of adults. Girls observe sectional limitations to some extent, but boys ignore even the color line in their choice of companions. Dress plays no part in the groupings among young boys, and has but little effect on girls before the tenth or eleventh year, except when continually dwelt upon by parents. What her companions can do in a dynamic way is of chief interest to the young girl. Mere excellence in studies

does not make one a favorite among children ; for the boy, especially, dynamic traits alone have value. However, girls of nine or ten sometimes admire schoolmates who are superior in school work. All evidence indicates that before adolescence children will ignore the conventional groupings of adult society, even in communities where class distinctions are much emphasized, as in certain European countries.

During adolescence, a re-grouping takes place, largely on the basis of wealth in one or another of its manifestations. In general, economic independence narrows the range and subdues the liveliness of sociable expression. Superior scholarship among the young may serve as a basis for social prestige, provided the possessor is unusually interesting in some other way, and has personal qualities of the highest order. There are social groups, however, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, which are not established on the basis of wealth or scholarship or any interest of a selfish nature ; such groups seek only to promote sociability among people. This charitable tendency in sociability is most marked in maturity ; it is rarely manifested until the adolescent period is reached. Before this time, children choose their companions for more or less selfish reasons, although they may show a kindly interest in a sick schoolmate, which, however, is apt to be monetary. Children are not normally charitable in their sociable expressions.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNICATION

BEFORE the child is a year old, he shows in most of his attitudes that he wishes to have those with whom he has friendly relations share with him in the appreciation of whatever he does or discovers of interest to himself; and he wishes, further, to have all his acquaintances participate with him in his misfortunes of whatever sort. As he develops, this general tendency becomes ever more prominent in his thought and action, though revealed in ever more subtle ways. If one will observe the babe in the nursery, it will be seen that whenever he comes upon a toy or object of any kind that attracts his attention, or gives him pleasure, he will make an effort, feeble though it may appear, to call the attention of onlookers to it, and to have them express themselves toward it as he does. Later, when he begins to talk and to walk, he rarely discovers a new thing, to which he attaches any value, that he does not run with it, if possible, to his parents or other hospitable persons to communicate the good news to them. Most observers have found, with Kirkpatrick, that children seem especially desirous that others shall hear, see, and feel what they do, as well as that they themselves shall have the same experiences, if agreeable, that others in their presence are having.

The need of communication

If the child constructs an object with his blocks or in his sand pile which pleases himself; if he performs an unusual deed with hands or voice or body; if he sees or hears anything which impresses him, — in every case his experience must, whenever possible, be shared with father, mother, brothers, sisters, and with any person who will listen, even if this person does not show marked appreciation.[1] Indeed,

[1] A careful observer of children gives me the following incidents illustrating certain phases of the principle in question: —

the child will on occasion endeavor to share his experiences of every kind with indifferent and even hostile persons, if he can find no one else with whom he may communicate. The busy parent and teacher may receive the expressions of the child very coldly, and they may even go so far as to chastise him, in the hope that they may repress him; and yet, in the face of stern opposition, he not infrequently seems unable to restrain this passion to communize, whatever happens to him, or whatever he brings to pass as a result of his own initiative. He is much of the time at high social potential, and he must discharge in order to restore equilibrium; and no sooner is he discharged than he begins to be charged again. He appears not to be satisfied with any experience, or really to adjust himself to it, unless he can find others to take cognizance of it with him. In the same way he seems to be able to bear his adversities much better if he can relate them to those who will respond sympathetically to him, or who will attempt to redress his wrongs. It is as though when others understand his troubles, they will bear them with him or prevent their recurrence.

Watch the child communicating some ill-luck to his mother. As soon as he has aroused her sympathetic responses, so that she appears to feel with him, or so that she shows that beyond doubt she will soothe him, and provide especially for his pleasure so as to offset his pain, — as soon as he has won her compassion and insured her assistance, he becomes more subdued in his expressions. Often the recital of a mishap, with accompanying demonstrations of suffering, seems to occur for the purpose mainly of arousing compas-

"A family in very meagre circumstances, having invited guests to luncheon, had made more than usual preparations for their entertainment. The small girl, bubbling with enthusiasm, mortified her mother by telling the guests that there were oranges in the kitchen, and chocolate cake, etc.

"A little girl of three living across the street from a school building used to run over to see the teachers after school hours. The principal was not to return the following year. One day, having just learned of this, the child ran into his room and said: 'Oh, I 'm so glad you are n't coming back next year.'"

sionate attitudes in those addressed, or to cause rivals or tormentors to be disciplined. This tendency is very marked in some children up to the ninth or tenth year, while in others it begins to decline earlier than this. Normally the adolescent keeps his minor troubles to himself; or, if he communicates them at all, he does so in an indirect manner, by way of suggestion largely. At fifteen, he does not crave the demonstrative expressions of sympathy from his elders that he demanded at the age of five, say; though he is often not averse to having his associates know that he is enduring hardship. But by this time he is beginning to experience something of the attitude of the hero or the martyr. He will bear his misfortunes alone and without verbal complaint, though deep down in his feeling he desires that people should recognize him as a hero or a martyr. It should be noted that the boy of sixteen is much less expressive of his experiences, whether painful or otherwise, than the girl of this age, though she is now more reserved than she was as a child. But she seems to need the support and comfort to be derived from the generous participation in most of her experiences of every one about her who is in sympathetic accord with her. She does not "keep things to herself," as the boy begins to do at this time; and the differentiation of the sexes in this respect becomes more marked as they approach maturity.

The beginnings of restraint in the communizing activity

In the earliest years, everything exceptional or in any way interesting that occurs, and of which the child becomes aware, whether he be the cause thereof or merely an observer, must be communized; but as his sphere of adjustment enlarges, he gradually discovers that people are not at all interested in certain kinds of experiences, and they may even be annoyed by their recital, while they are much interested in other kinds. And so he learns, slowly of course, to confine his communizing activity to matters that his hearers take some interest in. When he begins sharing his experiences he does not take account carefully of the attitudes of the *alter* in rela-

tion to his communications; he derives pleasure seemingly from the mere portrayal of whatever has affected him. It is as though he felt strain and tension until he had given his experience publicity; nature seems to urge him to publish it, no matter what the outcome may be. But as he comes into possession of reflective attitudes, he takes account, more or less, of the social outcome of his expressions, and then he starts on the process of selecting for publication those experiences which will please the persons who learn of them, or which will add to his own good reputation, or which will operate to the disadvantage of his rivals or those who have for any reason aroused his enmity.

What the child desires above everything else, especially when he enters the reflective epoch,[1] is the approval of persons, expressed in their bodily attitudes, their rewards, material and social, and the like; and his deepest concern is to communicate all those experiences — but only those — which will win him the good-will of the persons of whose presence he is in any way conscious. But he also desires to humiliate his competitors, and to subjugate those who will not submit to his domination or who attempt to exercise authority over him, and in his communications he will seek to arouse the anger of his auditors against his enemies. From the third year on to adolescence, at any rate, children are ready "tattlers"; they easily run to the teacher or parent with everything they see, even in their friendly associates, which they know has been forbidden, and which they fancy may bring chastisement upon the offender, or credit to themselves. To an adult, not familiar with the impulsive character of children's actions, it seems impossible that they should endeavor to get their playmates into trouble, as they so readily do.

There is, of course, a deeper meaning in this phenomenon. Children insist upon any prohibition of their own activities being made universal, so that no one may do what

[1] See the author's *Dynamic Factors in Education*, chap. i.

they have been reproved for doing. Then when they see an act performed, which in respect to themselves has been the occasion for discipline, they demand that the performer shall be treated as they have been. It may be added that they are not, in the early years, quite so ready in publishing news of the actions of an associate which may bring to him the rewards which have been given to themselves under similar circumstances. Those students of mental development who maintain that the *ego* and the *alter* are but phases of a unity; that what the *ego* demands for and of self he also demands for and of the *alter* under all circumstances, may be suspected of not having observed children carefully, or they would have noticed that the individual is more urgent in insisting that the *alter* should bear the pains and penalties of his misdeeds, than that he should bear them himself under similar circumstances.

Developmental changes in the character of communications

It may be worth while to note further how, in accordance with the principle mentioned above, the character of the individual's communications changes with development. It has already been intimated that if we observe any child at the dawn of social consciousness, and follow him on for a number of years, we may see that his tendency is to communicate all experience that has value for him, no matter what it may be. His experiences, however, do not at the outset extend over a wide range; they relate almost wholly to nursery undertakings and discoveries, as well as to the good and ill fortunes arising from contact with people or things. The child views himself as in the centre of the world environing him, and the pronoun "I," actually used or at least implied, appears in every communication. At the same time the pronouns "you" and "he" are in evidence; which indicates that in the child's thought there is an *alter* to be pleased, or at least to be made interested.[1] This *alter* may be his dog or kitten or doll; but at any rate there is an *alter*, — a some one,

[1] See the author's *Linguistic Development and Education*, chaps. ii–iv.

more or less like himself, who can appreciate his experience and respond to him. At five, he is chiefly concerned with securing social recognition of, and reaction upon, the feats he performs in running, climbing, throwing, talking, and so on *ad libitum*. He is constantly calling attention to what he has done, or is able to do, in more or less exact imitation of most of the simpler activities that he witnesses in his environment. By the age of ten, the individual's communications relate largely to his experiences in games and plays, and in competition with his fellows, more especially the former with the girl and the latter with the boy. In the talk of the girl at this time, there is normally not so constant allusion to competitive activity as in the case of the boy, but she tells what a good time she has with her playmates in the making of dolls, or the like, and what success she has in her work, — in school, perhaps. But while the boy talks of these matters to some extent, they are not predominant in his expressions. He is becoming aware of the qualities, abilities, and powers (principally athletic, combative, and "tricky") of his associates, and he wishes the world to know how he stands in comparison with his competitors. Of course, he still communicates meaningful experiences of every sort, whether pleasurable or otherwise; but the concerns he regarded as of prime importance at five have ceased to play the principal rôle in his expressions at this period. At the same time it should be noted that his talk does not yet relate at all prominently to the intellectual or ethical activities of his associates.

The tendencies at adolescence

Following the boy on into adolescence, we find that at eighteen what was just beginning to be manifested at ten has become a passion now. The struggle for the more marked or direct material and social favors seems now very keen, and the boy's communications relate prominently to his intellectual, social, and physical triumphs. By this time he has established himself

in one or more groups, or it may be "gangs," and he is beginning to think of the group as a unit in competition with other groups, or perhaps with the policeman or the shopkeeper.[1] The girl is conscious mainly of social, æsthetic, and intellectual demands for success, while the boy is more conscious of competition in athletics of every sort, and debate. Much of the talk of boys and girls of this age concerns the relations between the sexes, which interest began to manifest itself at the advent of the adolescent period. Neither boys nor girls at the age of ten normally pay any attention to sex distinctions; in their expressions they do not differentiate boys from girls. But at fifteen they give publicity to any sort of "attachment" which may be brought to their attention. They seem to be on the lookout for signs of developing feeling between a boy and a girl; and if they cannot detect a real case of affection, they easily concoct one, and give it as wide publicity, and comment upon it as vigorously, as though it were genuine. This tendency continues without abatement until the adolescent fever begins to be subdued somewhat, though it is never wholly abandoned, even in maturity. Needless to add, perhaps, some persons lose interest early in this phase of social life, because of the dominance of other interests, which they devote all their energies to promulgating; but as a rule the detection of evidences of *amor* between two persons of any age in the community sets all the tongues a-wagging. Long before the church publishes the banns, Dame Rumor spreads the news throughout the community.

[1] In the author's home city, boys begin to form football groups as early as nine. There are a number in the city now that hold together quite well, and "train" as their models, the university men, do. In this city football has been the means of synthesizing these social atoms into molecules. But it is significant that when the "season" is past, the molecules break up into the atoms again. Some of the boys who are together constantly during the autumn do not see anything of each other during the winter, and they appear to have no interest in one another. When the game is on, their comradeship is based on capacity in this particular activity, and not on other and less dynamic characteristics.

Children of fifteen are still eager to communicate "news" in which the people to whom it is told show an interest; but this news relates to increasingly complex phases of social and ethical life. At this age the individual has abandoned almost completely the communication of the simple personal interests which wholly occupied his attention at five. During the epoch extending through the college period at least, the typical boy is not concerned primarily with ethical and moral conduct in the more complex relations of society, but only with the simpler phases thereof. As a student, his talk is predominantly of athletic and debating contests, relations of students and faculty, and the like; but in his expressions the notion of playing the game fair is becoming predominant. The notion is not absent entirely from the talk of the boy of ten, but it is much more prominent at twenty. At this latter age, the individual is less eager to publish his own achievements of a simple physical, or even intellectual or social character, than he was at five or ten or fifteen, though he has not completely outgrown this tendency, and it may be that he never will.

By the time maturity is reached, the individual's communications normally relate largely to the social effects of the conduct of his associates, and to the measure of their success in their business, social, political, academic, professional, or religious activities; and also to the progress which is being made by individuals, by the community, and by mankind in general along one or another of these lines. Thus he has progressed from the point where his own individual activities engrossed his attention, to the point where he is concerned to a considerable extent with the measure to which his fellows observe the fundamental rules of the social game, so far as he participates in it, either as a player or as an interested observer. Important instances coming to his attention of fair or foul play, as he conceives it, are given publicity, and his attitude toward them is revealed in a positive manner. It is probable that the majority of indi-

viduals never grow out of this last epoch; if they continue to develop, they simply perfect the tendency dominant during the epoch. But certain persons continue specializing, until their interests in communication relate wholly to the imparting of discoveries in the special field of knowledge which they are cultivating. The writer is associated with men who talk of little but the results of research in their own or related fields. Their consuming ambition is to make contributions to knowledge, which implies discovery and effective publication. When they establish a new principle, or uncover a new fact, they are as eager to apprise the world of it as the child is to publish his discoveries in his nursery. These men are, in some cases, ill at ease in a drawing-room, for they have little interest in the matters that are there being given publicity, and they have lost their sense of social values as represented in this situation. They are, in short, specialists, whose function it is to communize only certain groups of facts; these facts have taken such complete possession of them that unrelated facts can find no lodgment in their consciousness. Consequently they cannot be made publishing media for news and gossip of any sort. To some extent, they interfere with the dissemination of gossip, since they are incapable of taking it up and passing it along. In groups of savants, local happenings of the moment never gain currency.

Before leaving this topic a word should be said regarding the reserved, the reticent, the non-communicative person. From the very beginning of expressive activity, children differ markedly in their eagerness for and freedom in communication. The reserved type of child is inclined to listen while others talk, though this depends in a measure upon the occasion. G., seven years of age, is very shy in the presence of strangers, and will not communicate readily on any subject.[1] She does not

The reticent type

[1] Timidity is, without question, the cause of much apparent reticence in children, as in older persons. A correspondent gives me the following illustration: —

even enjoy being addressed by persons with whom she is not acquainted. She does not "make friends" easily; and when she goes out into the world she clings to her mother, and refuses to make advances to any one.[1] But in her own

"The other morning when I was coming up from the station on the car, a little boy of kindergarten age was seated immediately in front of me, well toward the front of the car. Soon a little girl came in, and after scanning the passengers came eagerly forward, and with a friendly greeting seated herself at the lad's side. Without a response, blushing and evidently embarrassed, he retired to the far side of the seat, and occupied himself with the view afforded from the window. Not to be thus put off, the wee maiden slid over toward him, and with her hand on his shoulder said: 'Donald, Donald; why, don't you hear me, Donald?' The lad became more engrossed with the view outside. 'I thought for a minute,' she continued, 'that I was n't going to find you, and then I saw a little boy here, and it was Donald.' When I left the car, after some minutes, Donald was just beginning to appear natural. I dare say his embarrassment was due to the conversation of older people."

[1] M. I. M. sends the following description of a reticent child: —

"A little boy, five or six years of age, was very quiet, both in action and in speech. He would sit quietly in a chair for an hour or two at a time, without saying a word. He was left motherless, and was taken by a woman who was very fond of children. She tried to play with the little boy, but he did n't know how, and would usually sit back and watch her. He was so uncanny that he 'got on her nerves.' He liked best to sit still and listen to her sing. Often when she was trying to teach him to play, he would interrupt her and ask her to sing.

"I could not believe he was well, but the doctor said he was. His father said he was always that way.

"When a baby came to his new home, nearly two years after he went there, he seemed to find his first interest. He was devoted to the baby, and would talk and play with her by the hour, but not in a healthy childish way; he was like a little, old grandfather.

"His mother had been an invalid, and he had been obliged to 'keep quiet' during the last year of her life, but his father insists that 'he was always like that.'"

M. W. cites the following, in illustration of differences in the tendency of children to communicate experiences: —

"W. and G. are two brothers, who always were very different. Even when first in school, G. did not tell school happenings, either to his parents, his sister, or his friends. Usually when a child is hurt, the first thought is to run to mother. One day George was accidentally struck in the face with a sledge hammer, breaking his nose and covering his face with blood. Instead of going home or to his father's place of business, he hid in a fence corner. Some relatives discovered him and took him home. They would never have found out from George how it happened, but the man who was using the hammer told of it. G. never changed; his studies at school, whether easy or

home, among those she knows well, she goes to the other extreme, so that she must be repressed, though she resists any interference with her freedom of speech in the home. Contrasted with this type is another, illustrated by S., who will communicate with people under any and all circumstances. V., at ten, has passed through a non-communicative period, and now he will tell his experiences freely to any one, whether stranger or familiar friend. X. in his earlier years was a very "open," communicative boy; but now at nineteen he is reticent toward all but a narrow circle of intimate friends.[1] His former associates say he has become extremely egotistic, and considers himself superior to most of

difficult, were never discussed; his love affairs were jealously guarded; his business is his own; even his wife shares not in those things. He is like his father, who is contented to live alone in a small cottage at an Indian agency, doing his own work, hunting and fishing, while his wife keeps house for the children that they may attend school in a city in another state. It is not, perhaps, just as he would wish it, but he is contented.

"W. has always been anxious to tell where he has been and what he has done. G. liked to go to visit an old aunt in the most lonesome part of the country, but W. would never stay; he might go for a day, but night found him at home. W. always chooses to have his work bring him into contact with as many people as possible. He has always told his mother and sister of the good times when on a trip or camping party; he is even willing to share with his bachelor sister his love affairs."

[1] A. S. sends me the following interesting observation, showing the change in respect to communicativeness which often occurs with development: —

"A young woman more than ordinarily reticent, has interested me. When a small child she was somewhat bashful, but developed into what might be termed a harum-scarum youngster, fond of boys and their games, talkative and light-hearted. Her mother having died before she was six, she had early to assume responsibilities which most children do not know. These influenced her little until the adolescent period, when she seemed to assume a very different attitude toward everything and every one about her. She shunned boys' society, was diffident in their presence, grew quiet and reserved, in fact she appeared to take a defensive attitude towards those about her. This characteristic she has never been able to overcome, though she has made an extreme effort to do so since she has grown to womanhood. She dislikes meeting strangers, must know a person well before he knows her at all, is everything but a success socially, prefers not to talk if she may listen, and is considered cold and unfriendly. Her reticence, it would appear, is a result of her having been forced to take the responsibility of looking out for herself too early, of perhaps distrusting the kindliness of individuals about her, and of having thought too much about herself."

those he meets in daily life, so that he feels he can do no better than keep his own company much of the time. Again, G. at thirty is a good illustration of the reticent type. He is a scholar, and is apparently more fond of his books than of persons.[1] He seems timid and ill at ease with most people. He is seemingly well disposed toward his fellows, but he prefers to commune with them and to serve them through the medium of the written rather than the spoken word. His literary expressions are all distinctly ethical and social in character; and his friends say he "means well." But he lacks the energy, perhaps, to adapt himself to people in the flesh, or his thought does not move rapidly enough to keep abreast of ordinary conversation, and he feels himself dominated by his associates. With the pen all is different; his "retiring" nature can now express itself without restraint according to its desires. In the same way, this reticent person can receive communications, through his books, from all the people of merit who have lived and recorded their observations and experiences, and he can appropriate these communications without making any response on his own part. So he is much easier and happier in his library than among people; and for this reason he shuns the reception-room and most places where men do congregate, and where response is expected from him.

Whatever may be the fundamental motive of the individual's passion to communize experience, it must be noted,

[1] The following cases are typical of persons one meets frequently:—

"A lady (Miss D.) was formerly very sociable, and sought society for the 'good time' it gave her. Now she is so thoroughly engrossed with her special work that she dislikes callers, because she 'begrudges the time it takes.' She says that comparatively few have anything to say worth listening to. She has not lost interest in communication, for she writes and lectures."

"In my own case," writes M. I. M., "I was reticent toward all people except the members of my own family until about eighteen years of age. Now I am reticent toward certain groups, and too talkative towards others. In a crowd I like to listen and observe. I am nervous and uncomfortable in the presence of those I consider my superiors, but do not enjoy anything better than to give a public reading, and the larger the crowd the better I can control myself."

at any rate, that it is on the whole socially advantageous in the outcome. The result of this activity is, speaking generally, that one's fellows profit by one's own inventions, accomplishments, beliefs, ethical conceptions, and so on. And what is of chief importance, the individual discovers through his expressive activity that which is regarded by his fellows as of real worth, and this is a guide to him in determining what he should continue to practice, as well as what he ought prudently to abandon. That which, on the whole, people approve, will acquire value for the individual, while that which they condemn he will sooner or later cast aside. Of course, when the reactions of the social environment run counter to the native tendencies of the child, he will struggle long and hard to bring people around to his view; but if he cannot accomplish this, he will in due course, as a rule, yield to social pressure. Take this for illustration: A boy rushes in from the street, and with great enthusiasm tells his parents some new words he has heard. They frown upon him, and strive to make him realize that "good" people dislike these words. He tries them again perhaps upon his older brothers and sisters; and they react as the parents did. Now, unless he is upon the street a great deal, these words will not find lodgment in his vocabulary, except he practices them for the sake of annoying certain persons whom he likes to tease. On the other hand, if the parents are pleased to hear these new words he will be stimulated to continue in their use, and they will be likely to become a permanent part of his linguistic possessions. So he discovers a new trick, it may be turning a somersault, and he calls upon every one to witness him do it. The observers declare against it, saying it does not look nice, or he will soil his clothes, or break his neck, or what not, and they may decline to look at him when he does it.[1] If he cannot

The social value of the communizing activity

[1] It should be noted that a boy will not ordinarily be dissuaded from performing any activity, simply because people say he will injure himself. On the contrary, he usually regards this as a challenge, which he will readily accept.

find any one to commend it, he will normally soon leave it for something else that receives social approval and applause. These instances are typical of what is going on constantly among children when they are given any measure of freedom in their activities, and the principle is applicable at every stage of development.

When the adolescent exhibits himself, or describes the conduct of another, in some concrete situation, he does not fail to get his cue from the expressions of the people who hear him as to the desirability of continuing the action in question. Under certain conditions he may be incited to continue in a line of conduct which is criticised by his teacher or others, because he is himself hostile to them and he seeks opportunities to torment them, or to show his independence. But, on the whole, he abandons what is generally condemned by those with whom he associates. H. returns from a visit to the home of E., and in narrating her experiences she mentions, rather incidentally, how impertinently E. responded to her mother's requests. All who listen to H. express in the strongest terms their disapproval of E.'s conduct, and H., without realizing it perhaps, does not fail to learn a useful lesson. So she mentions performances at the homes of other companions that draw forth the disapproval of her auditors, and at the same time she describes situations that meet their approval; and in this way she gains an impression of what is permissible, and what is not, with respect to these particular specimens of conduct. The principle applies to all her learning at this period.

The influence of the individual in determining public opinion

As the individual approaches adolescence, he not only continues to get educative reactions upon his expressions from his social environment, but he plays a constantly more important part in determining these reactions. By the time he is twelve, often considerably earlier than this, as with V., for example, he expresses decided opinions respecting the rightfulness and wrongfulness of much that occurs in his environment, and

that he is incessantly giving publicity to as he has experience with it. Already his individual opinions are beginning to have some weight in determining the general opinions of the group, at least among the members of his own "set," particularly if he is a leader. In this way he has influence, slight as it may be, in shaping public sentiment relating to the matters in which he is interested, — as to whether boys should be prohibited from playing on the school grounds, for instance. As a rule, of course, the adult portion of the community, regarded as a unit rather than as individuals, is not affected to any extent by the views of "mere boys" on any subject, and yet occasionally the latter do make something of an impression, even before they reach the adolescent period. But as they move on through adolescence their opinions are given increasingly greater consideration by adults, until in the university epoch they not uncommonly secure reforms in politics, even in violation of long-continued custom.

In the beginning of his communizing activity, the individual is mainly a learner, though he is himself not at all aware of it; but in the end he expresses himself, for the sake largely of becoming teacher or guide or law-maker. In other words, as a child he expresses himself, sub-consciously as a rule, for the purpose mainly of finding out what sort of behavior will result most advantageously for himself; but as he matures, he expresses himself for the predominant purpose of enforcing his own conceptions upon others, and so making them universal. When the average person reaches maturity, his principal, if not his sole, motive in the matter of communizing experience is to set up his opinions and practices as the standards for the community at large. The child will, without resistance often, take criticism of his conduct and follow it; the high-school boy normally does so much less easily; while the college man will ordinarily fight long and strenuously in defense of his mode of conduct and his views of men and things. This is

as we might expect it to be. The child, being plastic, can adjust himself readily to new standards of conduct; but as he develops, he normally loses his plasticity; and self-preservation, social rather than physical, urges him to make universal his ideals and habits when he gets set, or else he will in time be left out of account in social calculations. In a way every individual, as he settles into permanent form, takes up arms in support of the principles of action which he embodies in his own conduct, not so much because he thinks them right in general, as because he wants to be counted in the majority, in order that what he believes and can do will be most highly esteemed, and in consequence well rewarded by the community.

Throughout this discussion, provision has been made for individual variation from normal tendencies; but nowhere is this more marked than at this point. While most people in maturity tend to defend their practices and give them social approval and prominence, still in every community one may see adults who are genuine "searchers after truth." The writer knows well one man who is rather more favorable toward the beliefs and practices of others than toward his own. He often doubts the worth or efficiency of the notions and modes of conduct with which he has come to maturity, and he is inclined to find fault with his education. His associates say he lacks self-confidence. He is not a good fighter for his own interests or beliefs. But the fact that he is a marked exception among his colleagues tends to establish the rule.

The influence of the environment on the individual's expressions

It was suggested above that the reactions of the social environment upon the individual's expressions result, on the whole, in confirming what is acceptable, and suppressing what is evil; but there are exceptions which should be noted. In stating the principle it was assumed that the social environment acting on the individual strongly indorses the right and condemns the wrong; but this is not always the case. A. has some-

times played with a group of boys who exhibit the attitudes of the slum toward many of the activities of society. They will ridicule him when he says it is wrong to use vulgar language, and they hold up as their model the boy who is the most ready in the use of what they regard as dynamic speech. So they ridicule him for other expressions which his parents would praise him for, and they urge him on to actions which in his home and school environment are condemned. Now, he quickly shows the influence of this, let us say, unwholesome social environment, and he would not need to be long in it before he would get a quite different estimate of social values from what he now has. It is not so much that he would have different copies set him to imitate, as that his expressions would turn out very differently from what they now do. After all, it is the outcome of actions that determines what will survive in conduct. This is one reason why, when a boy allies himself with any particular social group, as the "gang" in our cities, or a gambling group, or an athletic group, he rapidly adopts the general traits of the group, because he learns readily to practice those expressions that win the applause of the crowd, and avoid those that incite ridicule.

While the principle just stated holds as a general thing, still a further qualification is necessary. Normally the child takes due account of the outcome of his actions, gradually selecting for repetition those that people reward him for, and abandoning those that bring upon him punishment or criticism of any sort. But, as already intimated, this does not imply that every boy of five, say, is observant of the attitudes of people toward all his actions, except in respect to those activities that have very serious consequences, as in the case of thievery, for example. So far as the majority of his acts are concerned, he is more or less indifferent at the outset to the reactions of the people about him, and the ordinary admonitions and warnings of parents have to be repeated over and over again, and often they have no effect

whatever. The child follows his own inclinations, except when these lead him into very definite trouble of considerable importance. This is probably more of a masculine than a feminine trait; or at least, the girl earlier becomes keenly appreciative of the attitudes of the social environment, even when these are not forcibly expressed. The boy must be coerced into conformity by his parents and his teacher, and often by his fellows; though he sometimes comes into groups, usually older than himself, when he is a willing slave, and he offers no resistance whatever to their suggestions, nor does he try to carry through his own enterprises in the face of the opposition of the group, as he consciously does in the home. In the first situation he is a follower and learner, while in the latter he is a bully.

A peculiar trait of social opposition already referred to incidentally merits a further word in this connection. Probably every child is placed in situations at times when he deliberately attempts to run counter to the expressed wishes of his associates. For one thing, he may desire to hector those with whom he is in competition, and so he does what he thinks will annoy them. But more often he craves the distinction to be derived from being in opposition to his fellows. If they find fault with him he shows he is pleased; and the more violent they become, only so that they do not inflict bodily injury upon him, the more he enjoys it. His pleasure increases according to the measure of their displeasure. Later on, when he begins to establish his group relations, he not infrequently courts the disapproval of antagonistic groups. Usually children of any age cannot ignore ridicule; they either wilt before it or attack their persecutors. But when adolescence is reached, one may occasionally find persons who purposely draw upon themselves ridicule because of their manners, their dress, or their views. It seems at bottom to be due to a love of distinction, however secured, and also to the love of combat. In social opposition the individual is incessantly in the

Social opposition

combative attitude. Sometimes he opposes himself to practically everything that goes on about him; he fights against all forms of social practice. He must always be "on the other side," because he is essentially a combatant, and is not happy in times of peace.

We must now look at a special phase of this communizing activity. It was indicated above that the child early comes to feel the need of being constantly in the presence of persons, to whom he may communicate all his experiences, and in whose activities he may share. It is rare, if ever, that one sees children who can be really content to carry on their enterprises in solitude. A normal child will not remain by himself if he can have with him people who are in sympathy with him, — that is, who will comfort him when he is in distress; who will receive kindly his invitations to observe what things he can make and what deeds he can perform; who will show him new tricks, explain new situations to him, and so on. However, if he cannot find actual companions, or if he be suppressed in his spontaneous desires by those around him, — father, teacher, and others, — he may not indulge his sociable tendencies as freely as other children. But even in this latter case he will, during waking moments, rarely be *alone* in the extreme sense of this term, for at least in his fancy there will be people who will seem real to him, and who will participate in all his experiences. He will talk incessantly to these people who dwell in his imagination, describing what he is doing, and conducting himself as though they responded to him. When he has accomplished anything of note in his own estimation, he will express himself to these imaginary observers, much as he does when there are before him persons whose approval he is soliciting. The content of his consciousness is predominantly personal; people are altogether absent from it only infrequently.

Consciousness is a stage; who are the players?

As the individual's experiences increase and he gains in the power of inhibition, he normally comes to restrain the

tendency to communicate aloud with the people in his imagination; but nevertheless, it is evident to any observer that people are there and guiding him in his conduct. It is apparent, also, that the principle in question becomes ever more important and comprehensive with development. In adult life we are always working and playing, reflecting and performing, with people looking on, or at least with the feeling of a personal presence to be taken account of. A man in his study, for instance, writes with his readers in view; and really all he does is determined more or less consciously by their approval or criticism. So the teacher prepares his lesson with a class before him in fancy; the orator rehearses his speech with an audience in the focus of attention, and so on. One cannot perform such an apparently simple thing as to buy a tie without being determined in his choice by the attitudes of the persons who stand out most clearly in his imagination. This is not to say that he is explicitly aware of what considerations are involved in his choosing. He certainly does not summon by name each individual in this imaginary group, and ask his opinion. It is probable that in most of the adult's actions of the character indicated no single personality stands forth as a particular individual, and his special advice sought and followed, though this is doubtless the case sometimes. One's model, as a special person, will be his adviser in some critical situation. At times we all say to ourselves (some of us say it more frequently than others), "How would X. (our model) conduct himself under these circumstances? What would he say? How would he say it?" and so on *ad libitum*. But in most of our adjustments in mature life, distinct personalities probably do not function focally in consciousness. Individuals become merged into types, and these gradually become condensed into attitudes of approval, indifference, or condemnation. It is a general law of mental development, which has been sketched elsewhere,[1] that images, whether of persons

[1] In the author's *Education as Adjustment*, Part III.

or of things, tend upon repetition of adjustments in which they are involved to coalesce into larger unities, and ultimately to disappear altogether from the focus of consciousness, according as there becomes established a disposition to act in definite appropriate ways governed originally by these images. Thus, in the end explicit imagery is not essential to determine action in effective adaptation to the objects which initiated the images.

In the early stages of development, then, the child's social consciousness is occupied with distinct, concrete personalities; father, mother, teacher, and special playmates stand out as individuals, and play their part in all important actions. Children from three on into early adolescence, when corrected for any act, are very apt to cite the example of father or teacher or some other individual in justification of the act. While often, no doubt, children seek to escape censure and the infliction of penalties by citing the action of some one who stands well with the authorities in indorsement of their own action where they are aware of differences, nevertheless they are commonly, if not usually, sincere in the matter; they really conceive that they are doing what would meet the approval of the persons who have in some way become their arbiters of right and wrong. One reason why their action so often seems insincere to the adult is because the latter cannot imagine how the arbiter cited could indorse the act in question; but the child is not ready in detecting the differentiæ of special acts. He applies to special cases, in a crude sort of way, general tendencies to action without noting particular modifications; so he often goes astray when he feels he is acting in conformity to principles approved by his models.

The development of responsiveness to community sentiment

It should be appreciated that the young child, four or five years of age, does not refer to general, but only to *individual* practice or sentiment or opinion, in indorsement of his conduct when it is under examination. One never hears him

say, "*People* do it," or "*Every one* thinks it is right." Instead he says, "Mother (or, it may be Miss H., his teacher, or Albert, his playmate) thinks it is right for me to do it." But as development proceeds, as the range of social contact broadens, and as action in all typical situations becomes facile and more or less habitual, individual arbiters for the child become consolidated, so to speak, and there is gradually established a sense of what the majority of the individuals would advise, — the general, and in time the public, opinion of the community.

This sense of a general trend of opinion in reference to the ordinary activities of daily life arises from contact with the group with which the child has most intimate relations. For instance, V. has already, at nine, a sense of the attitudes of a group of playmates toward a few of the situations presented in his adjustments, and he is influenced to some extent thereby. He also has a more or less clear consciousness of the general opinion of the people in the immediate neighborhood regarding certain concrete matters, as outdoor games, especially those played on Sunday. Further, he has a quite definite feeling respecting the *teacher* attitude toward various kinds of conduct; he sometimes says to his brothers and sisters, "The teachers will not like it"; or "I know there is no use to ask the teachers, for they will not let us do" this or that. Beyond these typical examples, V.'s appreciation of public opinion in reference to modes of thought and action is very slight, if indeed it exists at all. It is true that he has heard parents, teachers, and others speak of certain ethical and moral principles in a general way, as if all people conformed to them, and undoubtedly he is influenced more or less in his own thought and conduct by some of these expressions; but, after all, he connects them mostly with the particular individuals who have spoken of them to him. He does not really feel that the majority of the people in the community indorse them, as he will come to feel when he has had vital contact with many per-

sons in such relations that he will see the principles are generally observed.

A further word should be said regarding the method of gaining a feeling for general or public opinion. The majority of the people H. (as a type) knows, at least those with whom she has vital experiences, have quite similar attitudes respecting the rightness or wrongness of specific kinds of behavior in which she is interested; that is, they will severally respond in substantially the same way when certain acts are performed in their presence. Inevitably, then, H. acquires the feeling that persons in general assume the attitudes which this particular group does. So far as her present experience is concerned there are few if any exceptions to give rise to doubt, or to restrain action in the direction advised by this group; though, of course, as she comes into give-and-take relations with persons who have different experiences from her own, she will need constantly to revise her views in respect to much that she believes implicitly now.

It is apparent that an appreciation of community opinion, in the generally accepted sense, is developed only very gradually, following upon extensive and intimate experience with persons. For the young child, who has had close relations with those only in his own home, there can be no response to public sentiment; and it is without doubt true that an adult whose range of personal contact has been very limited may have no feeling for public opinion in any large way. When an individual has significant relations with only a few associates, and these differ to some extent in their views and practices, the individuality of each remains more or less distinct in his social consciousness. There can be no adequate recognition of a general or public opinion in such a case, only the opinions of John, Henry, and the others as separate personalities. The principle is that as one becomes more and more cosmopolitan, individuals as such normally tend to lose their influence as arbiters of his conduct;

they slowly but surely merge into a feeling of the attitudes of the community as a whole; and ultimately, if one's range of experience continues to increase, he gains a sense of the fundamental attitudes of the times in which he lives. In due course, and upon multiplication of social experiences, this feeling comes to constitute one's criterion of what is permissible in social relationships. It is obvious, though, that the opinions of unusually impressive personalities, whatever may be the reason for their impressiveness, tend to retain an independent place in the social consciousness; they are kept from merging with the crowd because of their exceptional importance. This is precisely the case, as these pages are being written, with the personality of Theodore Roosevelt. He is probably the most potent force to-day in the lives of many young men, though he only exhibits in an impressive way the general trend of contemporary public opinion in respect to political conduct, sport, and the like.

In passing, it may be said that, in the training of the young, we often strive to make the views and teachings of great men stand out clearly from the general sentiment of their age, or perhaps in illustration of this sentiment, because we wish our youth to take these men as models. When a boy is tempted to tell a lie, for instance, we wish him to be forcibly reminded of the action of George Washington, and to be restrained from doing what his hero would condemn. In like manner, we exalt other personalities exhibiting in a marked way the virtues of honor, patriotism, industry, frugality, kindness, charity, bravery, etc., in the hope that they will live in the consciousness of our pupils, and act as counselors in times of need.

Résumé The child very early shows a marked tendency to commune with people. Probably the majority of his communications — though not all of them — have for their object to gain the sympathy and approval of those about him, or to cause his rivals or tormentors to be held in check or chastised. At first everything of interest to him is communicated; but with the development of reflection only such matters are communized as will produce reactions favorable

to himself or unfavorable to his rivals or enemies. With adolescence the boy — and the girl to a less degree — grows less demonstrative in his expression; he begins to experience something of the feelings of the hero or the martyr.

Children are insistent in having prohibitions, and to some extent privileges, affecting them made universal, particularly in respect to their associates. The five-year-old is chiefly concerned with securing social recognition of, and reaction upon, his exhibitions in running, climbing, throwing, constructing, and the like. At ten the girl communicates mainly her experiences in coöperation with her associates in games and plays, while the boy dwells more largely on his accomplishments in muscular competition with his companions. At adolescence the boy communizes everything pertaining to his own or his associates' triumphs, — intellectual, social, physical, but principally the last; while the girl is concerned mainly with the social, æsthetic, and intellectual demands for success in her relations with people.

With the advent of the adolescent period, much of the talk of both boys and girls concerns the social relation of the sexes, and they give wide publicity to all evidence of attachment between a boy and a girl. As maturity is approached, personal achievements play a decreasing rôle in the individual's expressions; his communications relate largely to the social bearing of the conduct of associates, and to their successes socially, politically, and professionally. Marked instances coming within his attention of foul or fair play, according to his view, together with his comments thereupon, are published on every favorable occasion.

The majority of persons remain in this stage of social evolution, but some continue developing until their communications relate wholly to their special fields of activity. These latter persons are, however, as eager to give to the world any new fact or principle they may discern as is the child in the nursery to publish his discoveries. These specialists are in some cases ill at ease in a drawing-room, say; the concerns of their chosen fields take such complete possession of them that they become indifferent to gossip about the common interests of daily life which occupy the attention of a promiscuous group of persons.

Timidity is doubtless the cause of most apparent reticence in childhood. This reticent attitude may not be manifested toward all people, or on all occasions. It is probably very seldom that one finds a really non-communicative individual in respect to all persons and matters whatsoever.

Through this communizing activity of the individual, society profits by his experiences, while he in turn, through the reactions of the people in his environment, learns to adjust himself to his social surroundings. The child expresses himself largely for the purpose of learning what behavior, in any given situation, will result most advantageously in

respect to his welfare. The adult expresses himself more for the purpose of enforcing his own conceptions and making them universal in effect. The child can more readily adjust himself to new standards, while the adult ceases in large part to be plastic. However, there are in every community "searchers after truth," who, though mature, are "open to conviction," and who easily adapt themselves to the beliefs and practices of others.

Sometimes social groups fail to enforce upon a member prevailing standards of conduct. "Gangs" often encourage in one of their number what is condemned in home and school. The young child is not markedly studious of the attitudes of the people about him toward all his actions; but he tends to follow his own inclinations, except when they very plainly lead him into trouble. At times every child deliberately runs counter to the express wishes of his associates, in order that he may hector them, or gain distinction by being marked as a nonconformist. Sometimes the adolescent, craving distinction and not being able to attain it in any other way, purposefully draws upon himself ridicule; though this is decidedly exceptional.

The child, and the adult to an even greater extent, are always acting in the presence of persons, real or imaginary. As maturity is approached, distinct personalities, arbiters of conduct and focal in consciousness in childhood, become condensed into general or public feeling of approval, indifference, or condemnation of conduct. The recognition of, and response to, public sentiment increases with development. Children at the outset act in accord with the felt desire of particular individuals, such as father, mother, or teacher.

With enlarging social experience the child gains a more or less clear idea of the attitudes of people in general toward social questions of interest to him. Through the similar reaction of different persons as arbiters of conduct, individuals merge into a feeling of the sentiment of the community or the times. Unusually impressive personalities may, however, retain an independent place in the social consciousness of the individual, and play a more prominent part than public opinion in his reactions.

CHAPTER III

DUTY

Absence of the sentiment of obligation in infancy

It is a matter of common observation that the infant reveals no awareness of an *alter*, whose interests should be considered in determining his behavior. Attitudes and activities which will secure him food and relief from distress may be freely performed; and for a number of weeks, eight or ten at the least, he takes into account no other considerations in controlling his actions.[1] When he is inclined to squall, either in protest or in supplication, he does so without self-restraint; one can discover no evidence that he has any realization of the necessity or the desirability of checking himself because of the feelings or wishes of others.[2] From his standpoint there is nothing, either personal or material, in his environment the well- or ill-being of which should be duly considered in determining his behavior.[3] Of course, most of the acts he

[1] "For some time after birth the child is little more than an incarnation of appetite, which knows no restraint, and only yields to the undermining force of satiety." (Sully, *op. cit.* p. 231.)

Perez writes to the same effect (*op. cit.* p. 290): "If then we wish to understand the meaning of the actions of little children, and to direct their wills in a useful and progressive manner, we must bear in mind that all their tendencies, whatever they may be, begin and end with egoism."

[2] A. J. H. sends the following observation, which he thinks illustrates a well-nigh universal tendency in childhood: —

"My little son is very fond of picture books, and enjoys having me show them to him. Often I have n't time to attend to him, and I try by all manner of means to show him that I cannot possibly comply with his wishes; but he shows no regard for anything or anybody except to have others attend to his pleasures. He will try to pull me out of my chair down upon the rug by main force, and he insists that his pleasure be attended to, and at once. He cannot tolerate delay, but teases, pulls, cries, yells until he gets what he desires."

[3] If the reader has not made observations relating to this matter he should listen to an infant's vocal demonstrations, and note the expressions of his features and his bodily attitudes, and it will be seen that he has not the

performs suggest an *instinctive* appreciation, at any rate, of personal environment to be dealt with in some way and for some end; but the principle is that at the outset this end is concerned solely with self-gratification, without any concern for the effect of his actions upon the *alter*, except as the latter can serve him in his need. The *alter's* interests and needs and evaluations of things are completely ignored.

Origin of the idea of persons as distinguished from things

As we follow the individual in his development, we can observe, by the twelfth week possibly, the beginning of what may be regarded as a *conscious realization* of certain differences between people and mere things, such as his bottle, his cradle, and the like.[1] This realization is indicated by the peculiar pleasure which is manifested in personal association, as portrayed especially in his smile and in his characteristic vocal expressions. But here at the dawning of the sense of an *alter* there is no evidence that the child has even a suspicion that the former experiences discomforts or pleasures resembling his own. He does nothing whatever, either positively or negatively, to heighten the one or lessen the other. The advent of the *alter* into his consciousness has not yet modified his conduct in the least, except to make him more demonstrative in the effort to gratify his own wants. Indeed, there is yet no *alter* in the true sense. There are simply special sorts of objects that afford a peculiar kind of pleasure. These objects do not experience pains and pleasures, as the self does, nor hunger, fear, or fatigue, nor suffer from cold or uncomfortable clothing and the like. They are simply to be used and enjoyed, not to be ministered unto, or to be sacrificed for, or to be made either glad or sad. In short, there are no other selves like the ego-self; the latter is the sole thing in the universe that has needs, for the gratification of which the whole world exists. Not until the indi-

slightest regard for anything but his own discomforts, and the means of relieving them.

[1] This point is discussed in some detail in the author's *Linguistic Development and Education*, chap. i.

vidual begins to interpret others on the basis of his own experience will he acquire a genuine *alter* sense. In the first stage of development the *alter* is simply a thing of a peculiar character, not a person as this term should be understood. Thus ill-equipped does the child come into a world of social objects and values.

But passing over, for the moment, several months of lesson-taking in social appreciation, we find that by the end of the first year the child seems on certain occasions to restrain his teasing or crying, to mention a typical form of early inhibition. These occasions always have direct social connections of some sort. Usually the mother, governess, or father reacts in a particular manner upon the child's expressions, and this incites inhibitory effort. So, too, at this time the child will go a little way at least in sharing his candy and playthings with the members of the family;[1] while at the sixth month he did not show the slightest disposition to do this. Jumping forward to his second birthday, we see that, even when he is alone, he will under certain

[1] A correspondent gives a number of illustrations of his child's first "altruistic" or "ethical" actions, of which the following are typical: —

"My little son is a little more than two years old. A playmate frequently comes in to play with him. When his mother or father is in the room and shows approval of his unselfishness, he is willing to share his playthings, but as soon as no older person is in the room, he snatches his things away again. When alone he pushes his little playmate off the chairs, saying, 'baby chair' or 'papa chair.' Whenever any older person is about, he always looks for an approving word or smile, when he condescends to share any of his possessions.

"At other times I have observed him to become suddenly lavish in his generosity, and allow the little girl to have nearly all of his playthings, and especially his favorite ones. Each time I have observed him suddenly to change his mind, it seemed, and grab his things away again. He seems to be ethical by fits and starts.

"When my little boy was about a year old, I would thank him for anything he would do on my request. I might ask him for some of his grapes, and after he had given me one and saw me smile and nod approval, he would give me another and pause for the usual reaction. This he might continue to do until all of his candy or grapes were gone. Then he might cry for them again. The above and other observations have convinced me that children are only apparently ethical, i. e., they consider the *alter* only because the reward is greater than the sacrifice that is necessary in order to do so."

conditions refrain from touching objects, say, that he has been instructed (we shall presently see what is implied in this term) not to disturb; whereas, during his first year, such instruction would exert no influence upon his conduct a few moments after it was given. He will now apparently make an effort to control his impulse to interrupt his mother when she is talking; he will strive to keep his food from falling on the floor, because of his having been urged to do so by some person; and these are but typical examples of many simple social actions which may be observed at this stage of development. These are mentioned in this place merely as illustrations of the awakening in the child of an awareness that he should control his conduct with reference to the commands, or needs, or wishes of the people about him. We catch him here at the very birth, perhaps, of his sense, in its crudest, most elemental form, of oughtness, of duty, and it may be of ethical feeling.

The genesis of the *alter* sense

How, then, does the child come to differentiate in his consciousness persons from things, and endow the former with the true characters of personality? Possibly what might be called reflex imitation plays a part, as when the child smiles and "coos" in response to his mother's salutations; but imitation of this kind does not play the principal rôle. The reactions of the *alter* upon the child's expressions furnish him his most important data for gaining the notion that the *alter* is like his own self. It is, of course, relatively late in the child's development before he reaches any generalization regarding the *alter's* feelings. In the early stages of learning the child simply notes how the *alter* reacts upon the situations in which he is placed, and the former begins to construct his idea of the latter on the bases of these reactions. Thus the *alter* is a thing that acts in particular ways in response to his own expressions; and the young child is quite indifferent to all the activities of the *alter* except those that directly affect him for good or ill. The *alter* is not a thing that *feels* so and so, as he does himself.

Watch the infant as he develops both positive and negative social attitudes, following precisely the lines marked out by the reactions of the people about him. Here is a child whose parents, nurse, brothers, and sisters never react positively to his disadvantage when he grabs sugar lumps at the table, say, though they may *look* pained. But the infant takes no cognizance of *looks*. However, when these people react in a dynamic way to his discomfort, then he takes notice. This shows him what he can expect from these people, and later he may assign appropriate feelings to them on an occasion of this sort. But the point is, that he must first experience their positive reactions before he can get started in assigning to them personal qualities. A study of the child does not yield evidence to the effect that, through imitation alone, he would make progress in differentiating persons from things. Take, for instance, his imitation of his mother's look of disapproval in certain situations. One may see children who mimic the mother in this, and they have apparently no appreciation of what it signifies, because it has not acquired meaning through having been directly associated with more dynamic and therefore more effective attitudes on her part. The individual who knows what the disapproving countenance really imports is the one who has himself had painful experiences when he has seen the countenance in the past; or he may have seen his fellows who have been the cause of it suffer on account of it. And this instance is typical of many others that might be mentioned.

Speaking generally, then, expression in the *alter* serves to remind the child of what the former has *done* in the past, and so it is understood. But without doubt there are certain expressions, as crying and laughter, that are understood as a matter of instinctive appreciation by the child. Many observers have noticed that children will respond sympathetically to laughter, and be overcome when they see another crying, even though they have not progressed very far in

their imitative activities. It is probable that this aids the child in gaining a "consciousness of kind," though it does not serve in the beginning to differentiate very clearly persons from animals, as the pet dog or kitten. Indeed, it seems evident that for many months the child's pets are regarded as of his kind. He conducts himself toward them much as he does toward the people about him. He talks to them, laughs at, and, as he seems to think, *with* them; he plays with them, and sobs if they are hurt and cry out with pain. As he develops he gradually grows away from the animals, in the sense that, as his range of action and expression widens, he notices that his pets cannot respond to him in kind. At the same time he finds himself responding ever more completely to the people about him; and in consequence they are selected, out of all the objects environing him, as of his kind. They are the only objects that can reciprocate his increasing complexity of expression, not only through language, but also through facial expression, laughter, and the like. And, parallel with this development, there goes on a constantly increasing complexity in both the positive and the negative reaction of persons upon the individual's actions, so that by the fifth year, say, people must be considered in his activities more than any or all the other objects in his environment combined. At every turn he finds a person forbidding, or encouraging and rewarding; and all this experience serves to differentiate people completely from objects.

Essential experiences in acquiring the *alter* sense

The point will bear repetition, that the experiences which at the outset enable the child to differentiate the *alter* from things in general, and endow him with the qualities of selfhood, are those in which the former is by the latter rewarded in some manner for actions that please him, or punished for actions that displease him. When the child shares his goods with his fellows he is repaid richly in his mother's approval, manifested in various concrete ways, alike in deed and in word; and he

also receives gifts and pleasing expressions from those with whom he has shared. People uniformly exert themselves to make the child feel happy when he shows "thoughtful" tendencies, even though any specific act may be, as it usually is, of no consequence to those affected by it. For the child from six months on there are always words of commendation and often marked demonstrations when he is generous, and return gifts or kindly expressions, with accompanying reasons therefor, impressing a principle,—"You were so good to me," etc., or "Whenever my little boy is kind and thoughtful," and so on at any length. The principle involved holds fully, in its negative application, for the child's "egoistic" action. Normally, the social environment expresses its disapproval in ways the child can appreciate, when he is "thoughtless" or "selfish." To illustrate this last point: when he is "mean," the persons affected make him suffer for it; his brothers and sisters tell him they will not share with him; father, mother, and teacher make him feel unhappy through "scolding" him, or shaming, or avoiding him; or in some way they cause him to feel that unhappy results have followed his action. Again, when he cries his mother may refuse him his food, or she may show disapproval in her face or voice or manner, or, in the last resort, she may whip him. In some way she makes him realize that crying is not acceptable; and this, as a typical experience, gives him data for determining the propriety of such action.

While the individual is taking his first lessons in social conduct, the parents and teachers freely point him to people who are "altruistic," and they praise these, and try in every way to make their lot seem a most desirable one. Thus in time it is normally made obvious to the novice in social behavior — and without doubt his natural endowment aids him to some extent in attaining this realization — that he can as a rule get more pleasure from what turns out to be (though he does not yet know the difference) a generous

rather than a selfish act. While he is learning this lesson, one can observe the struggle taking place between an original, self-gratifying tendency and a not-yet-very-clearly-felt or definitely-established social one. At this moment one sort of action, the purely selfish, may gain the right of way; and at the next another sort, the generous, may become supreme. The principle is that, taken as a whole, the child's experiences with the people about him tend to make what is denoted by the term "altruistic action" seem to him best suited to promote his interests; although, it must be repeated, from his standpoint there is not yet either egoistic or altruistic conduct as we understand the terms. There are simply actions, some of which he is beginning dimly to discern turn out well, and are performed by people generally, while others turn out poorly, and are as generally avoided.[1]

Development and enrichment of the conception of the *alter*

For a number of months the child's experience with people consists mainly in discovering that they will reward him for certain of his actions and punish him (in some manner) for others. But as he develops, it happens that he and his mother, father, and others come to react upon the same typical situations, and in the same general manner, with substantially the same outcome in all cases. For example, the pet dog pre-

[1] Kirkpatrick (*op. cit.* p. 181) summarizes the matter in this way: "The individual in society learns that certain actions are undesirable, because they result in other persons performing acts that are unpleasant to him. Out of such experiences grow the laws governing society. The child finds that some instinctive acts are more pleasurable than others, or that one kind of act interferes with another, and thus learns to regulate his conduct. He is also impressed less directly with their undesirability by the attitude of other people. The child is at first neither moral nor immoral, but unmoral. He is acting according to his natural instincts when biting and striking his mother, as much as when he is hugging and kissing her, and no more. In both cases he acts as his instincts and feelings prompt, and to him one act is just as good as the other. Experience, however, soon teaches him that one kind of act brings pleasant results in the way of approbation and favor, while the other brings him disapprobation and perhaps punishment. He thus learns that some acts are better than others. 'Better,' however, means to him merely more pleasurable in results to himself, not morally better, for of that he has no conception."

sents many situations upon which the child reacts, sometimes happily, at other times unhappily; sometimes approvingly, and at other times disapprovingly; and the father, mother, and others usually react in a similar manner in any given instance. They laugh when the child does, they appear to cry when he does, they show anger with the child at the dog's behavior, and so on *ad libitum*. This process is normally going on all the time in the development of the child, from the eighth or ninth month forward. In this the parent generally simulates the attitudes and expressions of the child, and the latter inevitably comes to expect that the *alter* will usually react as he does. One will be impressed with this if he will follow the ordinary child during his third year, say, and note how he must unlearn much that he learned in his first year regarding the parents' attitudes toward his pets, his brothers and sisters, and so on. Of course, if the parent never simulates an attitude "in sympathy" with the child, the latter will not suffer disillusionment later; but at the same time he will not so readily come to feel that the parent is of his kind. It is for this reason that the child normally grows more rapidly with his mother than with his father in acquiring the consciousness of kind; the former is more "sympathetic" than the latter, and the child learns readily to expect from her reactions like his own. If the child were placed only with persons who never reacted as he did in any situation, he would continue for a much longer period than he usually does in regarding persons as things without traits like himself. It is community of action that leads him to feel similarity in characteristics; or, in other words, that enables him to view the *alter* as he views the self, and assign to him the feelings and attitudes which he himself experiences.

We have been using the expressions "like himself," "like his own," and so on; but the child does not, by the end of the first year, have any content for "own" in a true sense. It seems rather superfluous to say that "self" as it

appears to the reflective person does not exist for the child. The latter acts as a self long before he has an *idea* of self. His learning (which is a conscious process) in the early months does not relate to self, as some philosophers have urged, but it concerns the *alter* solely. The child evidently regards his own attitudes and states as objective in the same sense that he regards the attitudes of others as objective. Not until he enters the reflective epoch does he form a notion of self as differentiated from all else.[1] For example, K. at the age of one, S. at four, and V. at seven, show no evidence of possessing any idea of a self, of a *self-conscious* self, though the last two at any rate can and do use the term "self," and they show in their actions that they have a knowledge of the relations of the self to the *alter* in many of the situations of life. Without question, much of what an onlooker might think denoted an explicit knowledge of self in the child's action, might be wholly instinctive; consciousness at the moment might really be objective in content, as opposed to what is implied in the popular signification of the term "subjective." Self for the child is a body of predominantly instinctive attitudes and tendencies; it is not at all a matter of focal awareness.

At this point we must inquire how it is that the indi-

[1] The following observations may be cited at this point. Mr. B. says: "Last spring at the closing exercises given by the pupils of the model school, I had an opportunity of observing the behavior of children, from the kindergarten to the eighth grade, before a group of people. The children of the lower grades up till about the fifth invariably showed not the slightest trace of embarrassment. This was by no means so true of the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade pupils, or those old enough ordinarily to be in those grades. I noticed that the children who gave a Christmas entertainment last year in my home town behaved in a similar manner.

H. J. W. gives this testimony: "My mother used to have me as a child say before visitors my prayers that she had taught me, to show how many I knew. I delighted in this at first, and said my lines very loudly and boldly; but after the seventh or eighth year I would shrink and cringe, and mother would have to urge me very firmly before I would consent. I frequently forgot my well-learned lines, which I could repeat glibly at other times, when alone or in the presence of nobody outside the family. This change seemed to come over me rather suddenly."

vidual learns the meaning of the attitudes of the *alter*. The argument thus far has proceeded from the conception that the child's ethical development depends mainly upon the character of the reactions of the *alter* upon his expressions. What arouses hostile reactions in the *alter* must as a rule be abandoned, while what pleases him may be freely performed. But how can the individual tell when the *alter* is pleased, or otherwise? Baldwin has indicated one answer to this question. The child, he says, early "ejects" his feelings, and ascribes them to the *alter;* or, in other words, he interprets what he finds in the *alter* in terms of his own experience under similar circumstances. When he sees the mother laughing he concludes, in his naïve manner of course, that she feels as he does when he laughs. So he is constantly acting on the assumption that he can determine the *alter's* feelings from his expressions, on the basis of the relation between any particular feeling of his own and its characteristic expression. But this answer can be at best only partially true. For one thing, it should be recognized that there is an instinctive factor operating in the child's "reading" the expressions of the *alter*. The infant can "read" the mother's face and voice before he has entered the "ejective" period. He reacts appropriately to the expressions of good-will and of anger before he has himself expressed these states. So, too, he seems instinctively to feel more or less completely the meaning of sobbing, as indeed the pet dog does, for it will show evidence of distress, or at least of disturbance, when it is in the presence of one weeping. It is probable that the individual comes among us equipped to respond with some measure of appropriateness to the fundamental types of emotional expression, even before he feels the emotions himself; and often this inherited responsiveness extends to rather complicated and subtle expressions. X. at the age of one and one half years evidently feels the meaning, in a general way only of course, of even slight modifications in the featural

Interpretation of the *alter's* expressions

expression of her mother. S. at seven is much keener in noting changes in expression; he is certain to detect in those near to him any display of sombreness or gloom or disapproval. It is not probable that in this responsiveness he is interpreting in the light of his own experience solely, for he has not had experience of just the sort he reacts to in the *alter*. In a sense the more fundamental types of expression have meaning, and produce responses in the child, on the same principle as the burning candle does; a definite tendency to appraisement and reaction in both cases is provided for at birth, and it functions when the appropriate occasion is presented.

It is not apparent why the child should not learn the meaning of expression as he does anything else, by relating it to its accompaniments as well as to its antecedents and consequents. When he sees a smiling face, say, and his mother at the same moment gives him pleasure in one way or another, he easily comes to expect pleasure when he detects this expression; and in all his reactions, and in his imagery, so far as he has any, he associates smiling faces with certain consequents that we designate as generous, kindly treatment. In due course he will acquire the terms that denote the meaning of this particular attitude, — kindly, good-natured, happy, friendly, and the like, — but they all go back to his early experience in associating a certain expression with a characteristic outcome in terms of his own pleasure and pain. It is really not necessary, in order that the child should react appropriately to the *alter*, that he should be able to image the feelings that lie back of the *alter's* expressions; and while the terms used by the adult in denoting expression do refer apparently to emotional states, still for the child they indicate solely positive attitudes in the *alter*.

When V. hears me speak of a certain woman as a "sour" person, he interprets the word in terms of the way she treats him, and also, though not so prominently, in

terms of the expression on her face. He does not now, as a matter of fact, conceive of certain emotional states as the basis of his own feeling and expression. He interprets all the terms he hears descriptive of disposition or character, or, in general, of emotion, in terms of his experience with the persons involved, just as he would interpret the term "ugly," say, if it were used to describe a dog which had bitten him. We can easily believe that an individual equipped with the child's intellectual outfit, but lacking expression altogether, could still learn in the manner indicated the meaning of the grosser forms at least of expression in the *alter*, as well as in animals. At the same time it is obvious that, given a creature which feels and expresses and "ejects" his experience into things like himself, he will all the more readily discover the meaning of expressions similar to his own in the creatures with which he has experience.

Unquestionably, then, as the child develops, he tends to interpret the meaning of attitudes in others on the basis of similar attitudes in himself, and to the *alter* he normally ascribes, ever more largely with development, the feelings which he himself experiences. As a result of this tendency, by the time he reaches maturity he becomes in a manner the measure of all things. This does not seem to involve any peculiar psychological process, nor does it introduce any new psychological principle. When the child becomes acquainted with the traits of his own dog, he tends to ascribe its characteristics to every dog at all resembling his own; and this law is universal in its application. Now, is it not reasonable to say that as the child matures his consciousness, so far as it is personal, becomes filled ever more largely with his own experience and attitudes, which he has learned as he learns everything else; and that he then ascribes to objects like himself the qualities and feelings which he finds in this object he knows most about? In this law-abiding way he must come gradually to give the *alter* some such an outfit of feelings, needs, and desires as he finds in him-

self; it is inevitable that he should do this. Yet it should be recognized that the individual usually, if not always, favors himself in his attitudes toward the *alter;* that is, the needs of the *alter* are not usually seen to be quite as pressing as his own in similar situations, — his pains are not as severe, his bravery is not as marked, his selfishness is greater, and so on *ad libitum.* It is a rare child who can evaluate the experience of a comrade, especially when the two are brought into competitive relations, exactly as he evaluates his own experience under approximately identical conditions. Such a thing is never seen in infancy, when the *alter* is a thing to be adjusted to and used for the advantage of self; the interests of the *ego* give a special importance to the experiences of self as compared with the *alter.*

Popular notions respecting the relation of the self and the *alter*

This will, perhaps, be the best place in which to take a glance at some popular notions regarding the relations of the self and the *alter* in the typical situations of social intercourse. In current psychological theory the two are, or tend to become, inseparably associated in all thought and action. However, this is more evidently true of the mature individual than of the child, as our previous discussion has indicated. It is probable that when the child is pounding his nursery floor with a hammer he is in only a very remote sort of way conscious of an *alter;* possibly his consciousness at the time may contain only *things.* It is true that in time even this act will be likely to acquire some personal connections, which will govern the individual in its performance; but just now one would need to depend on faith in order to say that the *alter* entered into the process at all. If there are people looking on, the child may endeavor to attract their attention, but even so, his chief interest may have no personal reference. Surely we can take him early enough, when he is just beginning to grab at the bright objects in his cradle, or when he is making every effort to get food, and we can then see that the *alter* plays no rôle in determining his action. The grati-

fication of appetite at the outset does not, so far as the child's consciousness is concerned, involve the *alter* in any way. In time, though, every act of taking food will doubtless gain some sort of personal associations, so that the *alter* will be in consciousness, focally or marginally, when food is eaten; but this will be the result solely of associational experience. In the beginning of life the child's consciousness is concerned only with things to be used in some way; but with development all the relations with these things come to be loaded with personal values. At every step upward, then, the *alter* comes normally to play a constantly increasing part in the thoughts, feelings, and attitudes of the self.

The seers of every age have taught that we are members of one body, and if one prospers all will be prospered, while if one suffers all will be afflicted. The likeness between the social and the biological organism in this respect was suggested long ago. In the human body there are various members related to one another in such a way that each attends to some special need, and the entire organism profits thereby. The more effectively any special organ performs its particular task, the better it will be for the community as a whole. Its work is at once individualistic and socialistic, egoistic and altruistic. The eye must be eager to get from the environment everything that will gratify its own desires; but the greater its success in this regard, the more completely will the needs of the entire organism be provided for. So, according to this view, egoism and altruism in the human body are complementary, and not antagonistic, in the outcome; an organ cannot work for self without working for others at the same time. If it should deliberately set about to work for the *alter*, it would have to proceed in its own way, which would result in ministering to its own special needs. So, extending the argument to society, the interests of the individual and of the group are regarded as identical; what is best for the one is best for the other; there can be

no genuine antagonism. It has remained for modern students of society and social development greatly to extend and perfect this notion of social solidarity, and to show how the interests of the self, and all its thoughts, feelings, and volitions, are bound up with those of the *alter*, which seems to obliterate the old opposition between egoism and altruism. As Cooley states it, the *ego* is always acting for the approval of some *alter*, so that there can never be such a thing as "selfishness" in the popular understanding of the term.

This conception, which appears so attractive at first sight, is nevertheless only a partial truth. Keeping to the biological illustration, it is a simple fact that, in the nutrition of the body, a group of special organs or a single organ may under certain conditions secure an undue share of nutriment at the expense of other organs. When the bodily community is prosperous; when there is nutrition enough for all organs; when there is no crisis to be met, there appears to be perfect coöperation and mutual sharing among all the organs. But when the crisis does come, there is apt to be struggle for survival among the organs. For example, when the energy is running low in the organism, the brain may make such demands upon the available supply that the muscles and the digestive system will suffer; and the reverse may also be true. In disease it is generally the case that some member of the bodily organism is not receiving adequate nourishment, because there is not enough for the entire community of organs, and some are greedy in appropriating more than of right belongs to them if the principle of identity of interests is regarded as the ruling one. Of course, in the end the greedy ones will be penalized for their sefishness, since the weak organs will lower the vitality of the body as a whole; and ultimately total destruction will ensue. But temporarily an egoistic organ may act in hostility to the warfare of the *alter*, and be prospered on account of its cupidity; and in the general

Are the interests of the *ego* and the *alter* identical?

break-up at the end, certain organs live considerably longer than others, because they have an advantage in utilizing the energies of the organism. Happily, though, nature has so constituted things that, on the whole, there is such a relation between the members of the bodily community that they can work together in prosperity for a long time as a unity.

How is it now in the social body? If one secures what he wishes for self, must it always be through ministering to the needs of the group of which he is a member? If it is justifiable to use the terms *egoism* and *altruism* at all, should it be simply to describe the relative breadth of the individual's social interests? Is the egoistic person merely one who works for the *alter* in a narrow and relatively non-vital way, — as when he spends his life in pursuit of gold he must serve others, but both his aim and his service are relatively low and of only temporary worth? On the other hand, is the altruistic individual one who works for self, but in doing this he must serve others in some really important and enduring manner? It is claimed by some writers that the man who is generous, who cares for the sick and needy, who supports all meritorious enterprises, will receive the respect and gratitude of his fellows in return, and these are for him the most substantial and important of all possible rewards for his efforts.

Looking at this matter from the developmental standpoint, it is impossible to see how any one could think there was no such quality as egoism in childhood, supposing egoism to denote undue or exclusive concern for self to the neglect or detriment of the *alter*.[1] What does a three months' old babe know or care about the *alter?* How does he serve the

[1] The following from Cooley (*op. cit.* p. 92) may be noted in this connection: —

"Self and other do not exist as mutually exclusive facts, and phraseology which implies that they do, like the antithesis egoism versus altruism, is open to the objection of vagueness, if not of falsity."

Again, p. 190: "The satisfaction, or whatever you choose to call it, that

alter in obtaining what he wishes? The service all goes one way; it is all take and no give. And this continues for many months, and without educative influences of the kind described on preceding pages it would probably extend, in a subdued form at least, into maturity. For one who studies a child in his reactions upon the social environment, there can be no doubting the fact that in his own consciousness he is an egoist in the popular sense of the term; and even viewed from without, it does not appear that he concerns himself with the needs or desires of the *alter*, except as his own ends are thereby very obviously ministered to. He is constantly demanding service, not proposing equitable exchange of services, as men must do in maturity, which compels the individual to give consideration to the desires of the *alter*. Moreover, young children do not utilize what they secure from one group of persons for the advantage of another group, in order to gain the good-will and esteem of this group, as the adult does.

Neutral attitudes in childhood

If now it be asked whether, in the child's activities, he ever seeks to do another good without reference to the advantage to self, the answer will not be in accord with current theory touching this matter, as expounded by certain psychologists. E. in her daily life at twelve performs good offices for her younger sister and brothers, which could not be regarded as egoistic, in the popular sense of the term, by any unprejudiced observer. For example, she gives up her reading to repair her sister's doll, even though she has not been asked to do so; and she gains absolutely nothing from her altruistic act, except the happy expressions of the recipient of her favor.

one gets when he prefers his duty to some other course is just as much his own as any pleasure he renounces."

Still again, he says (p. 343): "As a matter of fact, *ego* and *alter*, self and sympathy, are correlative, and always mingled in ethical judgments, which are not distinguished by having less self and more other in them, but by being a completer synthesis of all pertinent impulses. The characteristic of a sense of right is not *ego* or *alter*, individual or social, but mental unification, and the peculiar feelings that accompany it."

She probably does not experience the pleasure of a "satisfied conscience," such as the adult does; she is simply moved by an impulse to serve, and she goes with the impulse. She expects no return, and there is no evidence that she is compensated in the way certain theorists maintain. She would serve any child as readily as her sister; and she serves them in other ways than the one indicated. To be sure, such activities do not constitute a large part of her daily life; nor, on the other hand, do the purely egoistic actions occupy a prominent place. She moves through the day, doing the tasks assigned her in school and at home without a definitely marked attitude, either egoistic or altruistic. So far as her own consciousness is concerned, a large part of her attitudes are without doubt neutral, though viewed *ab extra* they apparently tend in one direction or another. She does not deliberately plan to serve others, except when the spirit of giving is general about her, as at Christmas time, when she applies herself for weeks to making gifts for her companions. Neither does she plan in any purposeful way to add to her own pleasures; she simply adjusts herself from moment to moment in any situation in which she may be placed so as to get the most out of it, according to the desires of the instant. If there be competition for pleasures, as in the use of books, or apparatus in the gymnasium, she ordinarily keeps what things she can get as long as she enjoys them, and if there be not too great protest; but if her competitors make a disturbance, she may surrender to them as the best way to adjust matters.

She is, however, always more ready to yield to the entreaties, and even the bullying, of her sister, who is still a babe, than to her brothers, who are about her equals in most forms of competition. She appears to feel that the latter can care for themselves, and are ordinarily to be resisted in their aggressions; though she will not resist the aggressions of the former, which are more marked than in

the case of the brothers. But the apparently helpless and needy, if they are at the same time not repulsive, seem to arouse the altruistic impulses far more readily than those who seem strong and capable,[1] though it is a matter of feeling, not of reflection, certainly in the early years.

As the individual develops through adolescence, it can be noted that a constantly larger proportion of his actions are removed from the neutral class.[2] As he grows in reflectiveness he becomes ever more conscious of the effect of his conduct

[1] The following instance given by A. S. (an adult) illustrates quite the opposite of this statement: —

"I have been much interested recently in the observation of a child of five. He is in matters of conduct rather poorly disciplined. In degree of unselfishness I have seen few children his equal. However, this does n't appear to be a matter of training at all. Having few attractive characteristics, he is made little of by myself and a friend, and yet he almost never sees us but he insists on giving us something, if he has anything to give. I have rarely done him a favor, and only occasionally do I more than greet him.

"The other day he came through the dining-room where I was seated. In his hand he held a few small confections, given him by a friend. He offered me one, which I declined. He insisted, and I declined. Being seated at the opposite side of the table, he could n't reach me, so he called out, 'Here, you catch it,' which, however, I did not offer to do. Being called away by his mother, he laid the candy on the table beside some one, and said, 'You give it to her!' and departed. This all occurred very quietly in a moment of time, and I 'm sure his motive was not just to have his way in spite of my opposition.

"On another occasion he entered the sitting-room chewing gum. 'How many pieces of gum did you get for five cents?' asked some one. 'Two packages,' was the reply. 'Give me a piece, please!' I remarked, not knowing whether he had any left. Taking several pieces out of his pocket, he proceeded to distribute them indiscriminately about the room till the last piece was gone.

"Again, seeing my friend across the street, he called out, 'Wait, Miss G., I 'll give you some candy!' and he trudged over to give it to her."

[2] Kirkpatrick (*op. cit.* p. 124) says selfishness does not appear until youth is reached. Note the following: —

"Youths are then for the first time genuinely selfish, since if a selfish act is done now it may be in opposition to an altruistic impulse, while before this it involved only a choice between immediate and remote pleasures to self. True selfishness emerges only when both the lower individualistic and the higher altruistic impulses are felt. The adolescent may therefore be the most selfish or the most self-sacrificing of beings, and is often each in turn."

It will be apparent to the reader that Kirkpatrick uses the term selfishness in a very different sense from what it has been used thus far in our discussion.

upon his fortunes and destiny, and he is governed accordingly. At times he unquestionably brings self to the front, and deliberately works for its interests in ways in which he thinks these will be most effectively advanced. At other times he consciously strives for the good of his associates; though it is probable that in this striving he is more conscious than the child of twelve of the reward he will have in the good-will of the beneficiary and the esteem of the social group. Rewards of this sort do not make a deep impression upon the young child anyway. As the individual's foresight increases, as he is able to look ahead and note the consequences of his conduct, his actions, viewed from without, take on an increasingly altruistic character; but regarded from within they would probably be found to be dictated in the interests of the self as well as the *alter*. The girl of twelve is to some extent spontaneously, or perhaps instinctively, altruistic at times; whereas the girl of twenty may be much more altruistic in the extent and effect of her actions, but not any more so in her feeling. But even the latter is spontaneous in her altruism in some situations, mainly those of a maternal character, — sacrificing for the young, her own offspring predominantly, but not exclusively. What prompts the mother to serve when service involves suffering? Her view probably does not extend much beyond the circumstances of the moment. Service is needed, and it will be given without price. Here the *alter* is the focus of all feeling and effort. There is probably an instinctive tendency which abides with the individual during life, and which causes him often to minister to the needs of others without asking whether he shall be duly compensated therefor; though if we should search his being to its very depths, we might find at its bottom, far from the seat of conscious reasons and motives, an impulse to the effect that if he gives aid in times of distress, he may be cared for himself in his own hour of need.

Without stopping for further analysis here, it may now

be said that the child's sense of duty, so far as it is acquired, grows right out of his social experiences, wherein he is made aware that it is of advantage to respect the rights of others, and to share his possessions with them, and help them when they are in need. In the begining, the mother's disapproval, revealed in a variety of concrete ways, was the principal spur to inhibition; and the child had actually to see her face in order that it should control him. However, in the course of maturing, as the imaging power develops, the mother can continue to exert an influence over her child's conduct, even when she is far removed from him. She really lives in her boy's springs of conduct when he is tempted to perform the actions she has forbidden, or when he fails to perform those she has urged upon him. She is there in greater or less vividness of detail, looking on, and approving or disapproving as she did in the flesh, and thus she directs him much as if she were really present to his senses. As development proceeds, the mother, in her concrete, distinct personality, gradually subsides, so to speak, and there is left only the appreciation of her general attitudes in the special sorts of situations in which she has determined the child's actions in the past. And what is true of the influence of the mother is equally true of every person who instructs the child regarding his social relationships, whether of set purpose or only incidentally, in the give-and-take of social intercourse or in books.

Genesis of the sense of duty.

If one should work out the natural history of any act subject to the control of conscience, or which incites the activity of conscience, he would find it conforming to this general type. There must first be very definite, concrete experience, — approving or disapproving persons, rewards or penalties, and so on. Then in time these may operate through imagination, as we say, with the result that the concrete factors are gradually eliminated, but their import is still felt. And, reinforced by impressions gained from

history, literature, art, religion, etc., this feeling or tendency is sufficient to keep conduct in harmony with the forces which influenced it originally. Until ethical action in any situation becomes quite definitely established, the concrete personalities who initiated it tend to remain as foci of attention, as it were, and so as counselors of behavior. It should be impressed that when these concrete personalities have receded to the margin of consciousness, the individual remains responsive to their influence. He feels he must act in the present as they encouraged him to act in similar situations in the past. He feels disturbed, ill at ease, on the wrong track, if on any occasion he runs counter to his habitual action, or that enjoined upon him by those who have had a prominent place in his consciousness; and ordinarily he will be restless until he comes back into line. Conscience, then, is active only when there is a felt lack of harmony between the individual's present action and that which has been urged upon him in the manner which has been sketched above. As he develops and acquires a sense of the attitudes of people in general, rather than the individuals nearest him, he will gradually gain a feeling for certain kinds of ideal conduct, or that which is generally indorsed and taught by the people with whom he comes in contact, or by literature or biography or religion, but with which he is not in accord in his own conduct, in some respects at least. So long as he knowingly falls short of this ideal as he has come to conceive it, just so long will he experience some measure of strain and tension. But as soon as his action is brought into correspondence with his ideal, conscience will approve; there will be a feeling of ease, of congruity, of satisfaction. And if his ideal can be realized without struggle, conscience will gradually cease to manifest itself at all; there will be no further need for it to be active.

Thus, as was suggested in a previous chapter, consciousness on the social side is a sort of theatre in which one's

friends and acquaintances and the public in general, so far as it has become a matter of experience, whether in the concrete or in literature or art, constitute the audience whose function it is to pass judgment upon the actor's performances. Every deed is scrutinized by them, and one cannot escape praise or blame, except in respect to those activities that have often been appraised in the same way, and performed readily, so that they have become automatic. This it is that causes the child distress when he performs a "mean" act, even when he knows it will not be actually detected. These ideal spectators know of it, and they are condemning or shaming him, and he is not fit to be seen by his fellows. If a person should be so constructed (as idiots probably are) that consciousness could entertain no ideal personages who would commend or blame him for his conduct, it is impossible to conceive that in such a case there would be any way for him to determine whether deeds were right or wrong, except by their concrete, immediately experienced results. The right is, then, in the early years, at any rate, what one's models indorse; the wrong is what they condemn.

I use the term models in a broad sense. Some of Shakespeare's characters may be my models in a very real and vital way. Plato and Aristotle, through their written expressions, may be living personages for me, and they may determine my conduct in some respects; they may live in my consciousness in a real manner, and act as counselors in moments of doubt. So the eminent men of all times, whose lives I am familiar with, and some of the great characters depicted in fiction, as well as the persons now living whom I have met in vital relations, all dwell within reach of my springs of action, and play a part in approving or disapproving my conduct. Some stay close to the focus of consciousness, while others take up a position more remote; but none of them are wholly lost. When I am perplexed, I try to discover how these persons would act under similar

circumstances, and when I see what they, or the majority of them, or the more important of them, would do, I see what I may do.

The rôle of religion in the development of conscience

Reference has already been made, though in an incidental way, to the part religion plays in presenting ideals of conduct, and in enforcing upon the individual the necessity of conforming to these ideals in all his actions. It would not be proper to attempt here to discuss in detail the psychology and social value of religious belief; but there can be no objection to pointing out the effect of religious training upon the ethical, or, more broadly, the social attitudes of the child. The principle has been developed that the child early discovers, from his give-and-take experiences with people, that certain of his expressions must be repressed, while others may be performed at will. In due course he generalizes his experience, to the effect that anti-social conduct, as determined by the reactions of the *alter*, is "wrong," while that which advances the interests of the *alter* as well as those of self is "right." When the child begins to differentiate his actions on the basis of their social outcome, people must be actually present to his senses, and reprove him for non-permissible actions, and commend him, or at least not condemn him, for his good or right conduct. In the course of development, when the imaging activity, and especially the reflective tendency, begin to develop, the individual may feel the force of commendation or censure for his behavior when no persons are present in the concrete. In due course, in normal development, the parent, the teacher, the playmate, and others come to function in the individual's conduct through the force of habit, in which there is an ideal factor, as of the parent forbidding or praising a given action, and a motor factor arising from the individual's action in the past. Further, through history, literature, art, and the like, the child constructs ideal conceptions of conduct, and these ideals play down more or less constantly upon all his actions.

In religion the idealizing process acquires a prominence which it does not attain in any other phase of the child's experience. Definite ideal personages are presented, and impressed vividly upon the child's consciousness. Speaking generally, these religious personages are made to embody in their own conduct, and to require of all persons, the highest form of social action conceived by the people of any given time or place. These personages are made extraordinarily effective in influencing the individual's action by ascribing to them the qualities of omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, and the like, so that they are always aware of one's transgressions as well as one's faithfulness in the performance of duty. Moreover, these religious personages are, in Christianity at any rate, perfectly just and righteous, so that just and righteous conduct in the individual will be fully appreciated and rewarded. Thus the child who has had religious instruction of the character indicated has an ever-present and very real stimulus to the performance of what he comes gradually to understand as ethical, moral, social conduct. Otherwise he is dependent solely upon the momentum he has gained from the reactions of his early trainers and associates upon his expressions.

The young child is very realistic in his religious conceptions. He readily accepts whatever is taught him regarding the attitudes of religious personages toward him in his behavior; though it should not be inferred that catechetical instruction is always effective in this way. Of course, theological teaching cannot be grasped by the child, unless it is presented through the concrete deeds of definite personalities within his comprehension. But that instruction which portrays religious personages as perfect in conduct, their office being to reward good and punish wrong action in human beings, becomes potent in the child's life in dissuading him from certain forbidden acts, and coercing him in the performance of acts which he would neglect except for stimulus applied *a pos-*

The realistic character of the child's religious conceptions

teriori. The religious instruction given children commonly emphasizes the conception that God is an omniscient and omnipotent lawgiver and judge, who will mete out justice to every individual, inflicting pain when he disobeys, and providing for his happiness when he acts in accord with the instructions which have been given him. Now, these instructions generally have in view the establishment of fundamental social attitudes in the individual. The Ten Commandments are rules which the individual must observe if he would adjust himself harmoniously to the group to which he belongs; the group would be destroyed in time if these rules, most of them, were not followed by its members. So the Sermon on the Mount is a social code suited to the needs of a complex, peaceable society. In the same way most of the religious principles sought to be impressed upon children have the control of their relations toward their fellows solely in view. The instruction which aims to develop reverence for sacred personages and things, and the observance of religious rites and ceremonies, has for its end to secure such an attitude of the individual toward religious things that they can continue to control him. If he is deeply impressed with the infinite wisdom and power of divine persons, they can exercise a commanding influence over him in restraining what he has been taught is wrong action, and enforcing what he has been taught is right conduct. Thus religious teachers often make a supreme effort to fill the child's consciousness with the idea of divinity as immeasurably intelligent and powerful, and they surround all religious objects and ceremonies with mystery, which in the early years, at any rate, is favorable to the development of attitudes of humility and obedience.

But the instructors of the young commonly go far beyond the effort to develop in the child a consciousness of God as the ruler of the universe, and arbiter of right and wrong. They try to teach a vast number of specific facts regarding the nature of God, the characteristics of His place of abode,

His associates in heaven, His method of administering justice to the faithful and the sinners, the place of abode of those who offend the Divine Being, etc., etc. This instruction becomes, then, an intellectual exercise, and as such it takes its place in the child's consciousness with other intellectual subjects, as history, science, and the like. The child regards his catechism as a thing to be learned the same as his arithmetic, and the one does not exert greater influence upon his conduct than the other. It is the common thing to see children driven to Sunday School to recite verbatim their lessons, which never touch the springs of conduct in any way. It will not be appropriate here to enter into detailed examination of catechetical instruction; but any reader can verify for himself the statement that nine tenths of all that is contained in the catechisms of any of the religious bodies among us that employ this method of instruction appeals solely to the intellect, and is for the child up until adolescence at least purely verbal. In the same way a large part of the work of the Sunday School as it exists among us is strictly intellectual, and it does not impress upon the learner the supreme conception of the glory and greatness and justice of God, and the certainty with which he administers social and moral laws. As a consequence, children instructed in this way do not gain from religion what it is really designed to afford them, so far as their social nature and needs are concerned. One may see children reciting every day in the catechism, or in lessons worked out on the plan of the Sunday School, who are not influenced in the slightest degree by what they learn. This is seen most strikingly in the public schools of Germany or England, where religious instruction constitutes a regular part of the work, or in the parochial schools of the countries like Italy, Spain, or Holland.

The one needful thing in religious instruction, so far as it is intended to be of value in restraining and constraining the individual in his social relations, is that it should suffuse the child's consciousness with a feeling of the reality of God,

and of his infinite justice and wisdom and power, so that He can read the human heart, and reward or chastise the individual according as he has done right or wrong, as revealed in his own conscience. Any philosophic speculation about the personality of God, or His relation to the universe, tends to lessen His influence upon the child's conduct. In the same way, undue familiarity with religious objects or ceremonies tends to destroy that simple, elementary feeling which is alone potent in shaping conduct. Children brought up in the homes of ministers often come to look upon religious rites in a purely mechanical way.[1] The sense of mystery is lost, and a feeling of commonplaceness supersedes it. In this way the influence for good of religious feeling is nullified.

Résumé

For the first eight or ten weeks the child is concerned solely with the interests of self. At about the twelfth week he begins to manifest pleasure in personal association, as shown mainly in his smile and characteristic vocal demonstrations. But for the infant the *alter* does not have interests and needs like the self; there is nothing in his environment, either personal or material, the well or ill-being of which should be considered in determining his behavior. By the end of the first year the child may on occasion inhibit his teasing or crying, or share his candy or playthings in the presence and under the influence of parent or governess; but very little of this sort of thing can be observed during the early months. However, by the close of the second year the child manifests some sense of social obligation, as revealed in his effort to control his "evil" impulses and perform acts of positive social value.

Through the dynamic reactions of the *alter* upon his expressions, the child learns slowly to differentiate persons from things, and to regard the former somewhat as he regards himself. Imitation alone does not suffice to secure this differentiation. Vital experience is necessary in

[1] Rev. J. H. K., a distinguished minister of the gospel, sends me the following testimony: "I am distressed over the attitude of my four children toward the religious offices of the house and the church. When they return from a prayer-meeting they may make fun of the prayers offered by members of the church, or they may complain at the length of the service or the tiresome character of the remarks they heard. When I officiate at a funeral, they almost always show interest only in the amount I received for my services. I have long felt that my children go through their prayers at home in a purely mechanical way, and they have the same attitude toward the church service. I do not know what to do with them."

order that expression may acquire meaning. There are doubtless certain expressions of the *alter* which are understood more or less instinctively by the child, and these aid him in gaining a "consciousness of kind." For a time the child regards his pets as of his kind, but he gradually grows away from animals because of their limited reactions upon his expressions.

By the fifth year, through the positive and negative reactions of people, the child has learned to regard them in all his activities as different from things. Approval and disapproval, rewards and punishments very concretely given, enable the child gradually to differentiate his attitudes into two great classes, which later he will designate as egoistic and altruistic. Speaking generally, his experiences with people teach him that conduct altruistic in nature will promote his interests, while egoistic action will turn out badly for him. Community of interest and action leads the child in the course of time to view the *alter* much as he does himself, in respect to needs and deserts.

The child acts as a self long before he has an *idea* of self in a reflective sense. Self for the child is a body of instinctive attitudes and tendencies. With development he learns to interpret the meaning of attitudes in others on the basis of similar attitudes he has himself assumed. However, in his "ejective tendencies" the individual usually favors the self as contrasted with the *alter*.

Of the popular notions regarding the relation of the *ego* and the *alter*, the common-sense view considers egoism and altruism as diametrically opposed to one another, so that a person could not be egoistic and altruistic at one and the same time; while according to another view they are simply phases of every social attitude the individual takes. Both these views are partial and so erroneous, at least so far as they relate to the developmental period of human life. A considerable proportion of a child's actions are neither egoistic nor altruistic. They do not have for their purpose the advancement of the interests of the *ego* as against those of the *alter*, or *vice versa*. As the individual develops through adolescence a constantly larger proportion of his actions is removed from the neutral class; and viewed from without they appear to become more and more altruistic, but regarded from within they may be seen to be dictated in the interests of the self as well as or even at the expense of those of the *alter*. There may be observed at every period in development genuinely altruistic actions in outcome, springing probably from an instinctive tendency to help those in need.

People differ in respect to the degree to which they strive to promote the interests of self as opposed to those of the *alter;* and various types in this regard have always been recognized in popular philosophy.

Action in the early years is usually unreflective, and is executed on the basis of expediency. In due course, however, the individual discerns more or less clearly that certain kinds of conduct, positive as

well as negative, must be required of all for the welfare of all. When he makes this discovery he is prepared to assimilate ethical instruction, which, combined with the influence of the hard knocks received in the give-and-take experiences of daily social adjustments, gradually establishes the sense of *right* as opposed to *wrong* action. In the evolution of the sense of duty the child first realizes that the rights of others *must* be respected, and later he feels they *ought* to be respected.

A child's conscience grows out of his social experience, wherein he has been made to realize through the reactions of people upon his expressions that certain actions may be freely performed, while others must be restrained. As he matures, the concrete factors are gradually eliminated and the remaining feeling, reënforced by lessons from history, literature, art, and religion, suffices to guide conduct; and conscience is active only when conduct is not in accord with the lessons impressed in the manner indicated. As the individual acquires a sense of the attitudes of people in general, whether of those about him or in books, he gains a feeling for certain kinds of *ideal* conduct, and conscience is felt only when he is conscious of disharmony between his ideal and his real action. Consciousness on the social side is thus a kind of theatre in which our friends and acquaintances, the public in general, and characters derived from literature, history, and art, constitute the audience and pass judgment upon our performances.

In religion the idealizing process attains a prominence which it does not attain in any other phase of the child's experience. The young child is very realistic in his religious conceptions. That instruction which portrays religious personages as perfect in conduct, and also omniscient, omnipotent, and the like, and whose office it is to reward good and punish wrong action in human beings, becomes potent in the child's life in dissuading him from certain forbidden acts, and coercing him in the performance of acts which he would neglect except for stimulus applied *a posteriori*. But religious teachers often fail to make a deep impress upon children, because their teaching is theological, technical, and is merely verbal so far as the learner is concerned.

CHAPTER IV

JUSTICE

Basal experience in the development of the sentiment

Our discussion thus far has prepared the way for a consideration of the development of certain special attitudes arising in the social adjustments of the individual; and first, the attitudes involving the sentiment of justice. We have traced the method by which the child acquires the conception that the *alter* has feelings of pleasure and pain like himself. We have also noted that in the process of development his sense of the *alter's* attitudes and needs becomes ever keener, and exerts an increasingly determining influence upon his conduct, leading him to regard and to treat the *alter* much, though not precisely, as he regards and treats the self. As a result of this developmental process, the child comes in due course to realize that the *alter* has *rights* which first *must* be and later *ought* to be, respected in all the relations which the self assumes toward him. The goal toward which the individual normally tends in his social development is undoubtedly the point at which he will readily grant to the *alter* the privileges enjoyed by the self, and impose upon him the same obligations; and he will insist in all the ways he can upon every person receiving pleasures or pains according to his deserts; though the sentiments of mercy and pity may sometimes urge him to shield the *alter* from the suffering which his acts would entitle him to, in accordance with the general view of justice current in the community at the time. It is a commonplace, of course, that this sentiment becomes embodied in time in laws or rules or customs, and the individual who is strictly just will insist upon all the members of the community being dealt with in conformity thereto. But in every advancing society the sentiments of

sympathy, pity, and mercy go beyond the established laws or customs, and they may, as they often do, protect individuals from the consequences of their deeds as viewed in the light of the regulations on the statute books. Thus mercy has the effect of tempering justice, a phenomenon which will receive the attention it deserves in another chapter.

When we say that the development of the sentiment of justice tends toward the point at which the individual will treat the *alter* as he does the self, it must be understood that the term *alter* as here used cannot be interpreted to apply to all persons whomsoever beside the self, but, speaking generally, only to those in the same "class" or group or circle with the self. One "gentleman" may resist any suggestion to take advantage of another "gentleman"; but he may act very differently toward his servant or his slave. A Greek might think it unjust to cheat one of his own nationality, but at the same time he might not hesitate to take advantage of a foreigner. A student may feel the justice of playing fair with his fellow students, but he may experience no resistance to the impulse to take advantage of the members of another college with which his alma mater may be in competition, or even to deceive to his own gain the instructors under whom he works. Evidently the individual tends to recognize equality of privileges, rewards, responsibilities, and penalties only among those of a kind with himself, as he sees the matter. We have already noticed how the consciousness of differences among people is developed in the individual; and once this process of differentiation gets started, it gives rise to the idea that all people are not equal, and so are not entitled to the same rewards and penalties for any given deed or catalogue of deeds. What would be excused in a king, say, might cost a peasant his life. But kings, like peasants, have their own codes, which operate on the whole to insure equality among the members of the respective groups.

Equality of rights and responsibilities limited to members of a class

Thus the sentiment of justice often serves to make permanent stratifications in social groupings, however established, for it tends to keep individuals within the confines of their respective classes in respect to their privileges and responsibilities, their rewards and penalties. On the other hand, in very plastic groups the sentiment of justice plays an important part in changing the boundary lines between classes, and in abolishing these lines altogether under certain conditions. While in American society there is sometimes a tendency for members of the "higher" classes to resent the efforts of a member of a "lower" class to push upward beyond his "station," still it is possible for one in the humblest sphere of life to be elevated to the most exalted position, provided he is able to serve society effectively according to its needs at the time. So there is developing among us a feeling, more or less general and well-defined, that in the spirit of justice a man should be rewarded — in honor and opportunity, perhaps, rather than in money — according to the measure of his ability, and his sincerity in serving the community. Capacity to do what society desires to have done, and faithfulness in the doing of it, are probably more important desiderata in the formation of classes in our country than elsewhere, though even among us wealth and ancestral connections play leading parts.

The rôle of conflict in the child's first social adjustments

But we must return to trace out in greater detail the steps by which the adult's complex sentiment of justice is developed. We have noted above how social experience works upon the original *ego*-centric tendencies of the child, and modifies, restrains, diverts them, and even supplants them to some extent by *alter*-centric tendencies. It has been said in effect more than once that, in the process of adjustment to his fellows, the individual inevitably acquires a more or less settled habit of taking into account the interests, the point of view, and the tendencies of the *alter*. Now, this experience lays the basis for the sentiment of justice in its

fundamental meaning, — that all individuals should have an equal chance in competition for the goods they seek to obtain, and that they should suffer impartially according to their responsibility for misdeeds they have performed, or for errors in judgment. It need hardly be insisted upon here, after what has already been said, that the young child is a bully, who strives to get more than his just portion of the things he desires, and endeavors to transfer to others the penalties which rightfully he should bear. The child of two will not normally play fair when he is in competition with his fellows. He will make use of every means at his command to get that which he wishes, whatever it may be, irrespective of the rights of others who are affected by his action. He shows but slight appreciation of the feelings of his parents, even in the varied activities of the home. He is completely dominated by the goal toward which he is striving, and nothing but forceful resistance on the part of the *alter* can restrain him, when restraint is necessary ; and it is probable that the original, all-powerful egoistic motives get modified or checked only by determined resistance from those more powerful than the child. In time, as the number of such occasions increases, the child comes to anticipate them, so that he can with some measure of success check himself.

If one will follow a child day by day, he may trace this experience of resistance coming to be anticipated. Take, for example, the case of a young child playing the game of toss-ball with a group of children or adults. Let us say that at the start he demands the ball most or all of the time. When another gets it he cries for it, and gives vent to angry expressions if it is denied him. All in the group say to him, "It is not your turn ; you have just had it ; you must let the others take their turn," and so on ; but he is indifferent, at this stage of his development, to their attitudes. He shrieks at the top of his voice if it is not given to him, and if there are older persons around to whom he can appeal, he will run

to them and endeavor by various means to excite them so that they will come to his aid, and enable him to gain his end. If he can get no help in this way, then he may try to prevent the one who has the ball from playing with it; or as a last resort he may try to break up the group, or go off sulking, expecting in this way to arouse the feelings of his tormentors so that they will cease their opposition to him. In all this experience there appears to be no consciousness on his part that he is in the wrong; so far as his own attitude is concerned, he is justified in getting the ball if he wants it. Justice for him requires that his wishes be always indulged. He is sincere about it, if it be proper to apply the term "sincerity" to one whose motives are practically all governed by a selfish aim, as his are.

The method of the first lessons in justice

But follow this child along for a little distance, and observe him taking his first lessons in justice, as the group understands it. The persons whom he attempts to bully will not give in to him. They tell him if he will "play fair" and "take his turn" he may play, but otherwise he must stay out. If the group is constant in this attitude, the child will sooner or later discover that he must check himself if he would stay in the game at all. He will resist the development of this notion, but it will get established in time. One can observe it taking effect in the child's attitudes. Yesterday, and for several days before that, perhaps, he tried to bully the group, but he finally drew himself sullenly off into the corner, and the game went on without him. To-day he repeats the performance, but one notices that he goes into his corner less readily; and with some encouragement from the group he may literally drag himself back into line, and actually *take his turn*. For the rest of the game he will "play fair" without protest; he has learned that the group will resist him unless he does as the others do. Of course, this change is not wrought suddenly as a rule; but whether it takes a long or a short time to accomplish, it is always brought about according to

this general plan. The instance cited is typical of innumerable cases occurring normally in the daily life of the child, and all having substantially the same history and the same outcome. It is true that some children are not in their early years resisted in many of their aggressions, but such children simply defer their elementary lessons in justice until they come in contact with groups that will resist them; and it is only a matter of time before they will meet these groups, unless possibly they be the children of kings. But even these latter children must ultimately come into conflict with those of their own class who will resist them in their unjust demands.

Appearance of the sense of property rights

This will, perhaps, be the best point at which to consider one of the most important though elementary phases of the development of the sentiment of justice, — the evolution of the sense of property, with the recognition of the rights and duties appertaining thereunto. As we have already noted, the infant comes among us with the naïve feeling that everything he wants "belongs" to him, in proof of which observe his utter lack of restraint in striving to secure whatever attracts him. His instinctive attitude is, get everything that is in any way desirable. The six-months'-old child shows no appreciation, so far as one can tell, of the principle of property, except that he should so far as possible obtain and retain all that he can lay his hands on that pleases him or gratifies his curiosity. He cannot, of course, be said to have a feeling of *right* with respect to it, since he cannot appreciate that the *alter* has a valid claim upon anything. The sense of right can be felt only when the individual realizes that the *alter* is competing for goods he himself desires, and that because of previous experience affecting the things in question one or the other should secure them and exercise dominion over them. The infant's feeling is that he should be master of all he surveys; and the representations to the contrary made by those about him have no effect on him, unless they for-

cibly resist his cupidity, when he usually protests with voice, fists, and body until he becomes exhausted, or until his attention is diverted into other channels. But so long as the desired objects are kept in view, the untaught, "natural" child assumes only one attitude toward them, and that an appropriative or aggressive one. His brother may say to him: "But it is *mine*, you know"; "You cannot have *my* things, for I do not take *your* things," and so on *ad libitum;* but these phrases mean nothing to the individual who has not had some months, at least, of vital experience in meeting with resistance in endeavoring to get control of goods which have already been appropriated by the *alter* in accordance with the rules of the social game. The principle is that the terms *mine* and *thine* require for their proper understanding by the child a vast deal of give-and-take contact with others, as a result of which there is slowly developed the sense that objects belong to people by virtue of their having had certain types of experience with them.

Development of appreciation of the right of possession

Let us glance now at the way in which the individual discovers what sort of experience one must have with an object in order to claim it as his own against all competitors. To begin with, whatever the infant has in his grasp he will strive to retain as long as he gets pleasure from it; and he will even endure considerable punishment before he will release it. Take, for example, his resistance to any attempts to remove his bottle before he has satisfied himself with it; and this is a typical instance. As he develops, and begins to grip objects about him, he shows the same tendency to keep all he can lay his hands on that pleases him. Now, suppose he is permitted to retain whatever he gets in his grasp, and he is given every object that he desires; in such cases the original feeling that all he wants he will secure is deepened in him, and his expressions become ever more violent if accidentally or otherwise his wishes are thwarted in any way. But sooner or later he is resisted in his attempt to gain possession of

objects which are much desired by others to whom they "belong," and at that moment he begins to differentiate goods into those that the *alter* will not permit him to have, no matter what efforts he makes to obtain them; those that he can secure if he struggles vigorously for them; and those that no one tries to deprive him of, or to resist him in his efforts to secure them. When he is prevented by his brother from taking a certain object, the latter says to him: "It is mine because papa (or mamma or some one) *gave* it to me"; or, "They said *I might have* it"; or, "because I *got it first*"; or, "because I *found* it"; or, "because I *have had it a long time*," and so on through a number of other reasons. If the father prevents him from getting the object he desires, it is "because it is not *good for you*," or "it *belongs to Brother*," and so on. But, the child never sees the justice of these positions at the outset; he always responds with, "Well, *I want* it." This is the only reason he can understand for claiming anything of value. But he is resisted, and he learns, through ceaseless opposition to his aggressions, that when father or mother gives an object to his brother he himself must keep his hands off it. He comes to this point in his evolution very slowly, but the reactions of the social environment keep him moving toward it with greater or less rapidity, depending upon the strength of his original impulses in comparison with the intensity and constancy of the educative influences playing on him.

So, by the method sketched above, he discovers that when a brother or sister or playmate is in possession of an object, no matter how he or she came by it, it cannot be appropriated by himself without violent reactions from those who have control of it. One can observe this lesson as it is being learned and applied in the child's daily adjustments. In the beginning, when he is acquiring familiarity with the elemental principles of property rights, he at times extends his application of the principles to his dog, his cat, even his rocking-horse; they must be left in control of the objects

which they now possess. One can see a child vigorously defend the rights of his pets against the depredations of the marauders about them. There is, perhaps, an element of make-believe in this, for it is not long before the individual shows that when his interests so advise, he will pay no heed to the rights of his pets, but he will without any restraint despoil them of their belongings for his own advantage. It is not long in his learning process before he will ascribe genuine property rights only to those living things that really resist his attempts to plunder them.

While his freedom of appropriation is thus being narrowed constantly through the reaction of the *alter*, the principle involved is brought out distinctly in his experience when he is in conflict with his fellows in respect to his own possessions. If he is being attacked by invaders, he calls upon his father or mother or any person who can help him to defend his belongings. Then arises the necessity of determining whether he is entitled to the goods he claims, and the novice is made to give a reason, acceptable to those about him, why he should not be deprived of some or all of them. This is an exceedingly illuminating sort of experience for him; it compels him to recognize certain fundamental property rights, and to consciously employ the principles involved in trying to keep his "things" under his control. Every hour of waking life during the first few years, he must appeal to these principles in his inevitable conflicts with his fellows, if he has give-and-take relations with them. Slowly the principles are brought out more or less clearly, depending upon the nature of his experience, because matters of vital concern to him are settled by them, and they define for him what he may get and keep, and what he may not appropriate.

As the child develops, and his relations with people become ever more complex, he continually learns new and more and more subtle principles of ownership; and he finds as he endeavors to obtain and retain goods that the

rules he first learned must be modified in various ways. For instance, it is revealed to him in due course, though he resists learning the lessons, that he may not always keep possession of an object when he *finds* it, or when it is *given* him by a companion, or when he *buys* it with his penny, and so on. It must be impressed by repetition that he abandons any principle of ownership when it operates to his advantage only after a hard struggle; he "cannot see" why he should not keep this or that; "I always have done so," and the "other boys keep their things when they are given to them," and so on. There are conflicts at every step forward, from the time when original impulse begins to get restrained and diverted until the individual comes into complete accord, if he ever does, with social practice so far as it directly affects him. If social practice is constantly changing in some respects, — as it is in every plastic or dynamic society, — the individual never reaches the point where all conflict in regard to rightful ownership ceases. As his range of social contact enlarges he is brought up against traditions, customs, laws which he cannot understand. Like the boy of six, he "cannot see" why he may not keep complete control of the goods that in a simpler social organization would of right perhaps belong to him. When he comes into the city from a rural life, he must reconstruct many of his principles of ownership; he cannot now enjoy the liberties with some of his belongings which he enjoyed when the interests of but relatively few people were involved in his use of them.

Developmental changes in respect to principles of ownership

The greater the number of *egos* the child comes into vital relations with, the more intricate becomes the question of control and ownership. Also, when scarcity of goods exists, and the desire for possession becomes ever more urgent, the greater the tendency to modify the principles governing ownership, so that those who have in relative abundance may share with those who are in need. It is probable that the individual passes through some such a course in respect

to recognition of the principles of ownership, as does the society of which he is a member, if it is at all plastic. As members increase in any community, the principles of control and possession must be constantly revised, to insure that some may not possess the world to the disinheritance of others. Thus there are no eternal and immutable rules of possession in any dynamic society. These rules depend in general upon the conditions which will secure comfortable existence to the greatest number, as the greatest number sees the matter at the time, though no people so far as we know has ever completely realized this ideal, albeit many have striven toward it. Needless to say, perhaps, we are here touching upon a well-nigh infinitely complex matter, when we consider the practices of the different races of men, and the present tendencies among progressive nations, which are seeking deliberately to construct rules of action that will insure the perpetuity of the society, and secure to each individual to the largest possible extent life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Forever, if these ends be attained, there must be reconstruction of the principles of ownership as the conditions of the society itself change.

The rôle of positive instruction in developing the sentiment of justice

It should be noted in this connection that the lessons taught the child by the group in the negative manner already indicated are usually supplemented by positive instruction given in different ways. For one thing, in his games the child's companions commend him when he "plays fair," and the effect of this approval is plainly apparent upon the individual at every point in his ethical development. He keenly appreciates having all those in his group applaud him for his actions, wherein he takes no advantage but gives every one a fair show under the rules. At times, it is true, the attitude of the group may not be favorable to the development of justice in one of its number who may be inclined to bully; but it is within bounds to say that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, children from the sixth or seventh year on

will in their group attitudes encourage at least simple, crude justice as it concerns the activities of individuals in a group. A gang may prey on "outsiders," and it may idolize him among their number who has the least regard for the rights of his victims; but at the same time the group will resist any inclination in such an one to give rein to his aggressive temper when he is dealing with the group itself. Even among thieves there is honor; they must play fair with one another, though they may recognize no obligations toward any one without their circle.

This group reaction upon the individual's concrete acts continues throughout the entire course of his ethical development; and its most marked general effect is its tendency to make him conform to the rules of the game as played by the group at the time. As the child's range of activity increases, he comes into touch with groups of ever-widening ethical interests, until if he lives his life normally he will run through the scale from infancy to maturity, and he will get group reaction upon practically every aspect of social conduct, — censure if he does not play fair, and commendation if he does unto others (*the* others of the group) as he would be done by. He cannot escape this moulding process by the group. Whatever he does at any period of his ethical career, after the age of one or two at the latest, produces a response of some sort from the group or groups in which he holds membership; and looking at the matter in a large way, this response serves to encourage just action, and discourage that which is unjust, according to the customs of the time and the place.

Purposeful educative training by the group

The kind of group response to individual action we have been examining is more or less non-reflective, even reflex or automatic. But the group, through specially delegated members, often reacts upon the child's aggressions in a deliberate, conscious way, with the purpose in view to make him appreciate that unwillingness to play fair is "mean," "piggish," "contemptible,"

unjust, and so he should change his attitude. Even a child who is habitually in the bullying attitude will often denounce one of his fellows when the latter tries to take such an advantage as he may frequently take himself. Children are very quick to give publicity, with appropriate comments, to mean actions among all those with whom they are in competition in any way, in order thus to arouse hostile reactions from the group. It is practically impossible for a child, from the time he begins to understand any form of expression in the *alter*, to escape for any considerable period this sort of ethical education, aimed at making him restrain his egoistic impulses. In the beginning the mother tells him "it is not right" to keep the ball all the time; his brothers and sisters want to play as well as he does. She asks him how he would like it if they should keep it from him so that he could not play; and so on *ad libitum*. Later his fellows become more dynamic and effective in their instruction; and while all this has but slight influence upon egoistic tendencies at the outset, still the effect is cumulative, and grows ever more compelling as the group resists the individual in his bullying, and penalizes him for his selfishness. Of course, terms like "right," "mean," etc., have little if any significance for the child until he gets well started in his ethical evolution; and they would never signify anything definite probably if he did not meet with resistance in his aggression, or if those near him were not resisted in their depredations upon the rights of others. It is suggestive to note with what feeling a mother may condemn a certain action because it is not *right* or *just*, while her five-year-old boy may be entirely unaffected in contemplation either of the unjust act or the mother's condemnation of it; which is one evidence that the sentiment of justice is the product primarily, not of natural endowment but of social experience, wherein the rights of the *alter* are literally pounded into the individual.

But there are doubtless certain instinctive tendencies

functioning in the child's reactions in some of the situations in which the sentiment of justice is operative in a crude form. Even at a very early age the individual will resent the punishment of his pet dog by any member of the family; indeed, he will resent the harsh treatment of any of his possessions as soon as he begins to get the feeling that they belong to him and not to others. So, too, he will show indignation as early as the twelfth month when a larger brother chastises a smaller one (it is not so often the case the other way 'round), except possibly when the babe himself has demanded the administering of the penalty. That is to say, the year-old child is a not wholly indifferent spectator of the adjustments of his associates to one another.[1] In a very elementary, crude way, and while he is still an infant almost, he resents the domination of the weak by the strong especially, though he may show some feeling also if a smaller person makes another, who may be strong, suffer in a very concrete way. Later on he will lend his voice and his fists in support of the weak individual, or the "under dog," even if the latter seems strong, in the event that he has no personal interest in the conflicts which arouse his feeling.

Instinctive elements in the sentiment of justice

Of course, the child's own interests are bound up somehow in the contests of his fellows in most of the social dramas occurring in his presence in daily life, so that it is impossible to say definitely to what extent his natural feeling for fair play determines his conduct in much that he

[1] H. J. P., a correspondent, gives the following testimony touching this point: —

"My experience varies upon this matter. It appears that it makes a difference who the actors are. 'M.,' my infant sister, was visibly displeased whenever I attempted (in playfulness, though to her it was in earnest) to 'pummel' father, providing he showed signs of resentment. I might act the same toward another member younger than I, and babe would not resent it. In this instance the baby seemed to sympathize most with those who were doing most for 'baby.' Mother was as liable as myself to be rebuked, providing she should in any apparent manner abuse father, who then held her (baby). My younger brother has always supported me as against my sisters, although they are all younger than I."

does. Moreover, his love of combat often leads him to countenance conflicts which an active sentiment of justice would urge him to terminate if he could. Boys not infrequently stand by for a time and see a bully punish one not of his dimensions or strength; but sooner or later the sense of fair play will be likely to assert itself, and the aggressor will be told to take some one of his size. Young children are not ready and skillful in detecting differences in size and strength, but when these differences are very obvious, their inclination is to side with the weaker ones in the contests they witness. Any close observer of children in group relations can notice them from the first year on standing up for what might be regarded as the right, though they do not think of it in this way. In general, the child will sympathize with one who is suffering pain, as against the one who caused it. It happens now and then normally in the child's life that he is led astray by his feelings, for he may take the side of one who deserves chastisement, and who would be benefited by it. But the child does not look forward or backward before he expresses his feelings; he reacts at once, on the basis that pain should be relieved and the person (or even the thing) who occasioned it should himself be made to suffer. It is suggestive that, when the child is in a resentful frame of mind, he can easily endure the sufferings of the one against whom his resentment is directed; indeed, he often takes keen pleasure in inflicting penalties upon some one who has made him "mad," even though the latter may be his best friend.

The reflex character of the sentiment of justice in the beginning

It is worthy of emphasis that the sentiment of justice as expressed by the child is altogether "blind," to use the popular figure of speech. When the child observes a contest he does not take account of circumstances, as the adult normally does, in order that he may determine which of the contestants is in the right, or whether both may be wrong. The child's impulse leads him, as a rule, to throw his strength to the support of the

one who in size and strength is clearly at a disadvantage, though he may really need chastisement. He may have presumed upon his weakness, and attempted the rôle of an aggressor; but the child cannot go so far in his consideration of contributing factors. The feeling for fair play on the part of the child, and to a less extent of the adolescent, is not held in check until motives or "extenuating circumstances" can be reviewed. This is without doubt the most striking difference between the adult's and the child's attitudes toward situations in which equity is involved.

The principle in question has an interesting application in another way. Take a family of seven, say, — the father and mother and five children, the latter from three to twelve years of age. Suppose they are engaged in the performance of household duties of some sort, which are not on the whole agreeable. The chances are that very frequently questions of fair play must be considered. The parents try to settle them in view of conditions which should make one child do more or less, or a different kind of work, than another. But if the children be given freedom to express themselves, the younger ones at least will often be in constant turmoil. Each is apt to suspect that the other is favored above himself, and he cannot easily be made to appreciate the equity in the matter. The only thing that will satisfy him will be to have all the others do just as he does, no matter what it may be, except in the case that he is doing something that he particularly likes to do, when he is most skillful in discovering reasons why he should be left alone in the enjoyment of his pleasure. If a boy of five be sent from table to wash his hands, he is apt to demand, if he feels free to express himself, that his brother be made to go also, even though his brother is not in need of ablution. It may be noted, though, that the arguments the boy now urges for having his brother do the same unpleasant thing as himself he will decry loudly to-morrow night, when his brother uses them against him under exactly the same

circumstances. The young child is amazingly inconsistent in his evaluation of circumstances which should govern the conduct of himself and of his fellows; he is a long way from acting so that his action might be made universal. The child of twelve is normally far more consistent, and the youth of twenty is still more so. This is revealed in a striking manner in the resistance which is being constantly offered by the parents, teachers, and others to the aggressions of the three-year-old, and the comparatively slight resistance offered to the activities of the twenty-year-old. The latter has brought his original impulses under control, so that he can and normally does avoid the actions which meet with opposition from those about him, while at the same time he deliberately performs to a greater or less extent those actions that receive the approval, positively expressed, of his associates. The five-year-old must have fifteen years of vital experience before he can lay his course along a route on which he will not meet with continual opposition as he endeavors to proceed, but on which he will rather be given applause.

How can one describe all the difficulties which the child experiences in comprehending the principles of equity which are applied in adjudicating the conflicts which arise in his daily adjustments! Doubtless most of the actions of the child of seven, say, which are performed in response to the request or command of those in authority over him, and most of the restrictions imposed upon him, seem to him unfair, in the sense that he resists them, and finds reasons why he should be excused from submitting to them. He is utterly unable to see why others should be favored above himself in any of the concerns in which he is interested. "I don't see why I can't go to skate if K. does"; "I don't see why I have to go to school when S. does n't"; "Why can't I stay up until nine o'clock? the other boys do"; "I don't see why I can't have as many sugar lumps as H. does," and so on *ad libitum*, are instances which illustrate

the child's difficulties in understanding the justice of any rules which do not operate to his liking, though he may be very ready to defend them in their application to a brother or sister or classmate. S. cannot see why he cannot sit up as late as V., who is older than himself, though he will "argue" with K. to show her she should not remain up as long as he because she is younger than he is; and this instance is typical of what is going on normally much of the time in the life of a group of children from three to ten years of age, when their spontaneous expressions are not suppressed.

Before he acquires a feeling for an equitable adjustment of relations, then, the child demands that rules be made universal irrespective of persons or conditions, except when his own interests are at stake, when he easily sees that justice would not be violated if he should be favored. The conditions which come earliest to be regarded as requiring special consideration in the administration of rules of behavior are sickness, smallness, weakness, or age, especially the former. When an individual is obviously ailing, so that he presents to the eye of the child a weakened or strange aspect, then the latter will exempt him from the requirements which he will impose on all others, because they have sometime been imposed on himself. The possession of superior talents, or hereditary rights, or anything of the sort is given no attention by the young child in his universalizing of the ethical law, though they usually play a prominent part in the judgments of youth. Even productivity is not considered as a basis for discrimination, for the father or mother will often be held by the children for the performance of the duties required of themselves; and they will expect the parents, who have alone produced goods of value, to share and share alike in their distribution, unless the parents have from the beginning compelled the children to play a subordinate rôle in the domestic drama. But in this latter case the children

Development of an appreciation of "extenuating circumstances"

defer to the parents in their ethical judgments because they *must*, and not because they feel the justice of it. However, as the child grows into the adolescent period, he normally comes to recognize the special claims of age, mainly, no doubt, because of the precedence which tradition gives to the older people of the community. By the time he has reached his twelfth year, at any rate, the chances are that the individual has read and heard much about respecting one's elders, and always yielding to them simply because they are older and so more deserving than others. It is significant, however, that in communities where age is not venerated, the children do not spontaneously come to make distinctions in their judgments in favor of their elders. In street gangs marked disrespect is often shown to older people, especially when they become infirm, and are unable to redress the wrongs done them; all of which suggests that there is little if any instinctive provision made for the child's discriminating in favor of those older than he.

The favoring of age in administering rules of justice is a matter of social, not physical heredity. It has literally to be driven into many children; it appears as though they naturally resisted it. In a primitive society the elders *force* the young to make obeisance to them, and always to decide in their favor as against younger individuals; and even among highly developed peoples, as the Germans particularly, the educational régime from the cradle to full maturity is calculated to teach special regard for age, so that the young come as a rule to grant to older people rights and privileges which they would deny persons of their own age. But this is not in the least "natural"; it is imposed upon the child, and he accepts it as a matter of necessity. In America there is, on the whole, a tendency for children to treat adults on the same basis as they treat their companions; justice demands that they all conform to the same rules in respect to privileges, as well as penalties and rewards. Indeed, in some instances the child early acquires the attitude of ex-

pecting that his elders will always give way to him and his companions; they did so during his first few years, and his sense of fair play has been determined accordingly.

H. is the only boy in a family of three adults, who have "cherished" him dearly, and have always "humored" him in his demands. He frequently has playmates in the house, and he exacts from the older people the same consideration for these playmates that he himself receives. As a result, he has reached the point where he expects his elders will always serve him and his playmates and sacrifice for them. He cannot quite understand it when he finds an adult who will not indulge him in his every wish. For him, justice requires that he should have the right of way before grown people, which is exactly the reverse of what one finds in a typical German household. We see here another piece of evidence to the effect that the sentiment of justice, as expressed in the early years at any rate, is the product of experience, and it differs with individuals according as their experiences differ. A child who has from the beginning been resisted by older people in authority over him, and required to take a minor part in the affairs of daily life, will come to feel that the parent, the teacher, the minister, the policeman, *et al.* should always by right have the best end of everything; their wills, however they may be expressed, should not be ignored or opposed by himself. But children who have "had their own way," as against grown people, will not know how to take resistance to their wishes from the teacher, the minister, or any one else.

Development of an appreciation of motive in the *alter's* actions

One of the most interesting phases of the evolution of the sentiment of justice concerns the development of an appreciation of *motive*, as determining the sort of reaction which the individual should make upon the expressions of the *alter*. In the beginning, actions are responded to in view of their external character and their outcome, no matter what may have been the *alter's* intentions in respect to them. The child really

assumes his attitudes in view of the *results* of the *alter's* conduct, and he expects the latter to do the same in respect to his own actions. If a child of two has been punished for carelessly breaking his dish, say, he will anticipate similar treatment when he breaks it in a purely accidental and unavoidable way. In a home where children are frequently whipped or chided for acts of negligence, destruction, violence, or interference with the activities of one another or the established order of things, they demand that "justice be meted out" to any one who has offended in any of these ways, whether or not he is negligently or intentionally guilty. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," regardless of motive, sums up the child's code of justice and equity, which terms mean to him the same sort of attitude. It is the visible, tangible effects of action that he goes by in reaching his conclusions as to the treatment deserved by the actor. But it is in one sense not proper to use the term *deserved* here, for the young child has no mental content which would enable him to make the discriminations implied in the term *deserve*. To intelligently use this term, one must have reached the plane of development where he can feel that the *alter* is not to be judged by the outcome of his action so much as by his motive in performing it, and the conditions under which it is performed. All this is beyond the two or three-year-old, though some children show evidence as early as the fourth year of appreciating motives and determining conditions of actions. However, such appreciation is quite imperfect at four; but normally it grows ever stronger, more comprehensive, and controlling until maturity is reached.

We must now inquire how the child acquires the feeling for motives as determining the essential quality of actions. To begin with, from the first year on he is often placed in situations where the notion of motive is made prominent in dealing with individuals, though he does not seem to catch a glimpse of the idea until he is well past his second birth-

day. But in due course he discovers that the parent and the brothers and sisters do not react in the same way upon all his actions which have substantially the same outcome. For instance, S., V., and H. are building a "fort" in their nursery. K., who is not permitted to move around the "fort" as freely as she wishes, at last breaks down a part of it in a fit of anger. Impulsively the injured children fly at her, and "spank" her. She remonstrates, and goes complainingly to her mother, who comes as a judge to the scene of the disaster. The proprietors of the "fort" make it clear to the latter that K. performed the evil deed "on purpose," and the mother tells K. she must bear the penalty she received; and, moreover, she must be isolated for a time, since she "cannot play nicely and fairly." She tells K. how "naughty" it is to disturb her brothers and sisters in the way she did, and how she cannot let her go near them at all again unless she can be good. The culprit is, of course, in a more or less impervious and resistant attitude toward this instruction, but nevertheless it has an effect, and with repetition it ultimately makes a deep impression.

This instance is typical, in essential features, of experiences the child is having constantly during his early years and, in more and more subtle ways, even well on toward adolescence, and possibly through it and beyond it. But here now is a different sort of experience, which makes the learner of ethical lessons see that as a rule it is motive rather than outcome that is chiefly considered in the way the *alter* responds to his conduct. The "fort" is again knocked down by K., but this time she accidentally stumbled and fell on it. She herself appreciates a difference between her attitude in this and in the other case. Then, after the first more or less angry expressions of those who suffered from her accident, they forgive her, and dismiss her with the warning "that she must be more careful next time." This, too, is in outline a typical instance of nursery life, and of the life outside as well; and it serves to differentiate

actions in the individual's consciousness on the basis of his attitude toward the *alter* in performing them. So, by the time the child is four, one may frequently hear him excusing himself on the plea that he "did not mean to do" this or that"; he realizes more or less clearly that this is one way to escape penalties for careless and even vicious acts, and he tends to employ the formula whenever there is an opening. He comes easily to think he is not responsible to the extent of being penalized for the unhappy outcome of his actions if he does not deliberately harm any one. Of course, he is not very keen in distinguishing between what is deliberate or purposeful and what is only accidental. He is not at all introspective; and actions which the adult often regards as malicious, he may himself say are without evil intent.

On the other hand, if he has not been punished for his spiteful actions, he will be perfectly free in confessing that he did this or that "on purpose." H. at four years of age affords an illustration of this principle. He has always "had his own way" in a home where he has had only adults for companions; and when he plays with other children, as he sometimes does now, he inflicts divers sorts of pains upon them, merely because they get in his way, or deprive him of some object he covets. When he is asked for an explanation of his behavior, he says (speaking now of his relations to a particular child), "Well, she would not let me have it"; or "I wanted to be in the swing"; or "She was in my way," and so on. But the child with whom he plays always excuses herself if she injures him, by saying that she "did not mean to," or that he struck her first, or that he took her things away from her. She has already begun to appreciate that the treatment of an action usually depends upon the motive behind it; but H. thinks that the gratification of his own desires is a sufficient justification for any act.

It has been suggested that the individual in his evolution passes through a stage wherein he fancies that no penalty

should be attached to such of his actions as turn out badly if only they happen by chance. But he does not stop here long, for social forces keep working on him, and he is gradually made to realize, in a very obscure way at first, that he must suffer the ill consequences of accidents, especially when they occur as the result of his "carelessness" or "thoughtlessness." Every moment, as he develops, the situation normally grows more complex with him; and while he stoutly resists taking the "thoughtful" attitude, still this is in due course literally forced upon him to a greater or less extent. As his range of social contact increases he is penalized in a variety of ways for actions that result unfortunately, even if he did not intend evil in their execution. It seems hardly necessary to dwell upon the point that some children learn these lessons earlier, and more thoroughly and subtly, than others, largely because they have experiences in which the essential principles are constantly impressed; but all individuals, except those that are sub-normal, learn them sooner or later.

Development of the sense of responsibility

As the individual grows on into adolescence, the idea of responsibility for his actions becomes ever more prominent in consciousness, and at the same time the conditions determining responsibility become ever more involved. In the beginning his feeling about an act was dependent wholly upon its outcome; he did not take into account the circumstances under which the act was performed. Then, through the character of the reactions of the *alter*, he came gradually to feel that unfortunate results of his actions were not to be recorded against him unless he *meant* to produce them. Next, he slowly came to a realization of the fact that he must pay the penalty for an accident if he could have avoided it by being cautious, — by being more alert to the possible ill consequences of his acts. Incessantly, as he develops, he is called upon to justify his conduct on the bases of motive, carefulness, responsibility. In all these experiences the notion of responsibility

is impressed upon him, and the conditions under which he becomes responsible are at one and the same time defined ever more clearly, and made more and more subtle. At nine he is made to feel responsible for a deed that results unfortunately to any one, if he has in the past been warned against it or anything closely resembling it. He is held responsible for getting his lessons in school if the pupils in his class master theirs, and he is penalized if he fails so to do. In short, he is made to feel responsibility for performing tasks and avoiding actions that the majority of the nine-year-old children in the community are, as a matter of tradition largely, assumed to be able to do. In every community there is a general sense of what should be expected of children of different ages; and while this varies, for communities and teachers and parents, still the variation is slight after all. This "general sense" has been passed along from one generation to another since the beginning of human society, being modified to a greater or less extent by each generation, with the result that individual children are held responsible for what this tradition indicates they should be able to do. Then the child is often led to see the reasonableness of holding him responsible for a given act, though he may not acknowledge that he appreciates it, by showing him that his playmates are held responsible for similar acts. He may resist the adult's view of his responsibility, but he cannot long resist the application to him personally of a principle which he sees generally applied to the groups of which he is an active, vital member.

The effect of adolescent development upon the feeling of responsibility

The consideration of factors determining responsibility does not extend beyond the concrete self until the adolescent revolution is well under way. The child of eleven or twelve never spontaneously excuses himself for a misdeed because of an inherited tendency to perform it. So he never justifies his low grades in school, or his failures, on the basis of a lack of inheritance of ability. Naïvely he regards him-

self, so far as natural gifts are concerned, as on a par with his fellows; and if he does not do as well as they, it is because of some accident, or some physical disadvantage operating against him. In this naïve manner he assumes that all people are equal by birth, though as early as the age of five he appreciates that there are differences between his fellows in strength, in temperament, in helpfulness, and so on; and later, by the age of eight at any rate, he sees that there are differences between his classmates in their abilities, as in reading, singing, drawing, speaking, etc. But still he does not go back to original endowment for his explanation or justification of these differences. He will talk of a stupid classmate as though he could be bright if he would try hard enough; and while he does not ascribe his own failings to lack of effort, still he does not locate the trouble outside of himself. "I can't do it; I don't know how; I have n't had as much of that as the others," he will say, and more like it.

But during the adolescent upheaval, when introspection develops with extraordinary rapidity, the individual often tries to make an inventory of his abilities, native and cultivated, and he readily comes to the view that he is what he is largely because of inherited powers and tendencies. In some of the adolescent autobiographies, one may read bitter denunciations of the general scheme of things that cursed the writers with ugly bodily features or mediocre talents, or what not. The child of ten could not take such a point of view, for the reason that he has no sense of a "general scheme of things" which shaped him physically and determined the measure of his abilities. He regards himself as he is, without questioning the circumstances of his origin. But these circumstances play a leading rôle in the adolescent's estimate of himself, and of his responsibility for living the sort of intellectual, æsthetic, and moral life that tradition imposes upon the groups to which he belongs. When he falls short of the standard as he sees it, he not

infrequently avoids self-censure by laying the "blame" on the existing social order, or he may carry it back to his ancestors, his nationality, or his Maker. This does not mean that he fails to do his best to meet the obligations which rest upon him, thinking to place the responsibility for his deficiencies on others than himself. But when he feels he has made an effort which has not accomplished what the community expected of him, or what tradition standardized for him, then, to restore equilibrium among his own emotions, he may pass the problem of justifying his action to those who, as he thinks, conferred upon him his tendencies and capacities. At the same time he may assume responsibility for neglect to use to the full the talents or abilities he knows he possesses. He may also shoulder the blame for not acting in the present in the light of previous experience, to the end that he might avoid past errors and seize opportunities for being of service to his fellows.

In the daily life of the adolescent there is normally much strain and stress due to the individual's failure to adjust himself fully to a complex social environment, and his effort properly to locate the responsibility for this failure. It is probable that this tension is greater at twenty, say, than at forty; since by the time the latter age is reached the individual has, as a rule, largely settled for himself the question of the extent to which his native equipment in physical, intellectual, æsthetic, and moral traits equips or disqualifies him for attaining the standards reached by his associates, and he worries less about his shortcomings than he did at a younger age.

Résumé

In the course of his development, and as a result mainly of give-and-take relations with his fellows, the child comes to realize that the *alter* has *rights*, which first *must* be and later *ought* to be respected in all relations affecting the welfare of the latter. The goal toward which the individual tends in social development is the point at which he will treat the *alter* as he does himself, in respect alike to rewards and to penalties.

This sentiment of fair play or justice becomes embodied in ever

more complex forms in the customs and laws of a community; and in compliance therewith all members of the community are, theoretically, treated impartially according to their deserts, though mercy may frequently temper pure justice. This equality of persons before the law is, however, recognized by the individual only as it pertains to the members of any given class. Thus the sentiment of justice in static societies often preserves social stratifications from effacement or modification. In plastic groups, on the other hand, it plays an important part in constantly altering class boundary lines. Capacity to do what society wants done, and faithfulness in the doing of it, are the most important desiderata in the determination of classes in our country; though wealth and ancestral connections play leading parts.

The child is a bully by birth, and it is only through conflict, with resistance and retaliation from his social environment, that he makes his first social adjustments. As he comes into vital relations with the group, he sooner or later discovers that his aggressions will on the whole be resisted and even thrust back upon him, and so he learns that he must do as others do if he would get on well. The untaught, "natural" child assumes toward all objects of his desire an appropriative or aggressive attitude. Only through a great deal of give-and-take contact with others do "mine" and "thine" come to be properly understood. Gradually there is developed the sense that objects "belong" to particular people by virtue of their having had certain types of experience with them.

As the child is resisted in his attempts to gain possession of certain objects while he is not resisted in other cases, he comes in due course to differentiate goods into those that the *alter* will not permit him to have, those that he can secure by struggle, and those that no one makes any effort to prevent him from obtaining. Through almost ceaseless opposition to his demands, he discovers that what is *given* to others, what is *bought* by them, or *earned* by them, etc., he must not attempt to appropriate. In his conflicts with his fellows in respect to retaining goods once in his own possession, he is compelled to recognize certain fundamental property rights, and consciously to employ them in his appeals to his parents *et al.* Thus he slowly learns the principles that define for him what he may get and keep.

With broadening experience new principles of ownership are gained, and old rules are continually modified. But there is conflict at every step forward; and the individual is brought in time to realize that there are no immutable rules determining ownership. In plastic societies the rights of possession are in due course seen to depend upon the conditions which will secure equality of opportunity to the greatest number.

Supplementing the negative instruction which has been sketched, the group reacts in a positive way, with a view to teaching the child

to be just, commending him when he plays fair, and censuring him when he plays foul; and this serves, on the whole, to encourage just and discourage unjust deeds. This group reaction upon the individual's acts continues from infancy to maturity, and normally it affects every aspect of his social adjustment. He is denounced by members of the group when he tries to take advantage, and he is praised when he shows fairness in his conduct.

There seems to be an instinctive element in the attitude of justice, which is shown by even very young children in their sympathy with the weaker person in the contests they witness. The young child does not as a rule take account of circumstances in his reactions upon situations arousing the sentiment of justice; he usually sides with the one in need of help, whether or not he is deserving of it. The feeling for fair play on the part of the child is not held in check until motives and extenuating circumstances can be reviewed.

Before he acquires a sense of the need of equitable adjustment of relations, the child demands that rules be applied universally, irrespective of persons or conditions, except where his own interests are imperiled thereby. The favoring of age in administering rules of justice is a matter of social, not physical, inheritance.

In the beginning the child has no appreciation of motive or intention in actions which affect him; he responds to them in view of their external character and their outcome. But with experience he learns to differentiate actions on the basis of his attitude toward the *alter* in performing them. He discovers that the *alter* reacts differently to actions according to the intention of the actor in their performance.

At the outset the child expects the *alter* will respond to his actions on the basis of their outcome. Then, as he is let off for accidental mishaps, he comes in time not to hold himself responsible for deeds not done purposefully. But as his range of social contact widens, he is made to realize that he must suffer the consequences of his own careless or even unfortunate, though not careless, action. As he grows on into adolescence, the idea of responsibility becomes more and more prominent, and the conditions of responsibility more involved. Before this time the factors determining responsibility are not considered as extending beyond the concrete self; but during the adolescent upheaval introspection develops greatly, and the individual often takes account of his "natural" abilities and inherited powers and tendencies in estimating the degree to which he is responsible for what he does or fails to do.

CHAPTER V

RESPECT

In popular thought, one will be "respected" only when he observes, outwardly at least, in his public and private life the more important social and moral standards and ideals of the group with which he has vital relations. It is true that under certain conditions we may respect persons who do not conform to the less important (as we think) group standards of conduct; but in such cases the individuals thus favored possess exceptional qualities of some kind, usually marked strength of personality in certain particulars, which make it difficult for us to condemn or to ignore them. For example, the writer knows a man, a resident in a churchgoing community, who never participates in church services; but nevertheless he is universally respected because he is absolutely frank, and yet considerate of the feelings of others, in the statement of his belief that he can do more good by spending his time in other ways than in attending church. And as he is an uncommonly forceful man, who serves his community in many directions, there is a general and yet definite conviction among those who know him that whatever he does cannot be seriously wrong anyway. Other men in the same community who do not observe the custom in regard to churchgoing are not highly esteemed by the faithful, since the former are not strong enough in other respects to counteract social disapproval for their lack of conformity in this particular. This is normally the way in a community where standards in reference to any action, even though conventional, are generally observed; the dissenter usually brings upon himself the censure of the group, though it is otherwise with the individual who can make his associates believe that in his

Characteristics of respect as a social phenomenon

nonconformity he is pointing the way to higher things. Of course, the reaction of a community, either in approval or condemnation of a person's conduct, may not be very dynamically expressed; respect is a much less definite, direct, aggressive attitude than others that we shall study presently. In passing, however, it may be remarked that men will as a rule express their attitudes positively and forcefully in reference to certain kinds of action which obviously affect social well-being profoundly. For instance, a cruel murderer will be dealt with in a direct and summary manner, since society realizes that if he or his type is left at large the community itself will be destroyed. So the group will in a very marked manner commend a brave general who has performed some heroic service for his fellows, as when he has protected men in their lives and fortunes. In a more or less reflex way they celebrate his virtues in a conspicuous fashion, so that he and his kind may be prospered, and that others in the group may emulate him when the occasion presents itself.

Rather striking examples of social and anti-social conduct have been mentioned, in order thus to illustrate the way society reacts upon the individual when it can see with its own eyes, as it were, that he is either a friend or a foe of the community. But social or anti-social conduct in modern complex society is not ordinarily of a sort that appeals directly to the senses, and so stirs automatically the primal instinct of self-preservation. It requires rather obtrusive meanness on the part of an individual for the community to react vigorously upon him in the effort to protect itself, by checking or eliminating him. If an alderman, for a consideration, gives away a valuable franchise in his city to a corporation, the community may realize in a way that by this act he has injured the social body; but yet it does not seem to be a life and death matter. The anti-social deed does not occur on the instant; and, moreover, "there are always two sides" to a question of this sort because of

Respect is a restrained, appreciative attitude

its subtlety. Then a part of the community often cannot appreciate that a real damage has been done; this form of evil is so new and elusive that its seriousness cannot be generally felt, and consequently it does not arouse deep feeling in all members of the community. When a murderer or felon or traitor or incendiary or horse thief (in some communities) is at large, practically every one can react strongly to him, for they can image what may occur if he is not suppressed. But it is different with the ward boss, or the boodler, or the employer of child labor, or the walking delegate, or the adulterator of food-stuffs, or the "high financier." As already intimated, the harm which these latter individuals do is not very concrete or obvious, and so it is not reacted to vigorously by the majority, perhaps, of the people. In the same way the man who is honest in politics and business, faithful in his marital relations, devoted to his filial duties, and true in all moral relations, may not, on account of these virtues alone, appeal to the impulsive emotions of his fellows, as does the hero on the battlefield or the football field or in the pestilence-stricken city. With much public display medals may be awarded to men who have performed service in these latter ways; but rare it is that any demonstration is made in celebration of the achievements of a man who has taught a class of students, say, to be honest, and to practice the virtues essential to the highest welfare of the community in modern times. The latter form of service is too complex, it is too new, it is not picturesque enough to awaken an urgent feeling of approval in society. There may be some expression of feeling from certain of the man's friends; but it will be quiet, non-demonstrative; it will indicate approval, a friendly attitude, confidence, trust, good-will; in short, the individual will be *respected*.

It is a common saying, even in America, that the child should be trained to respect his elders and those superior to him in any way, or in authority over him, or representatives of the state or the church, or any institution regarded

as sacred. It is the chief, perhaps the *sole* aim of the educational system of many peoples, as the Chinese, the Moors, the Russians, the Italians, *et al.*, to develop in the young respect for the established institutions, and all who are connected with them. It is apparent what the rôle in the social drama of such a practice as this is; it tends to conserve the existing order of things, and to insure to those in authority a continuance in the enjoyment of their advantages. Those peoples who are most insistent in demanding respect from the young for the civic and ecclesiastic rulers are, as a matter of fact, most stable, in the sense that the social order endures longest without change. Even among such a progressive people as the Germans there is relatively slow social readjustment. Indeed, the existing institutions and social distinctions are at the present time undergoing but slight if any change, though there is a rising tide of feeling against the monarchical form of government, which tends to keep the favored few in positions of great privilege as compared with the masses. But this unrest is due mainly to the infusion of foreign views into German life. Englishmen, and Americans especially, are responsible for much of the growing disrespect for the established order in Germany. The education of the young still tends to conserve respect for the emperor and everything he favors, and also for the church, though discussion has already begun to spread among the people the conviction that this institution is not supremely worthy of homage, since there are many forms in which it presents itself, and these are themselves antagonistic to one another. In a German school to-day it is no uncommon thing to hear the Protestant church, say, held up for veneration in one classroom, and for derision in another. Children early take sides, each party presenting to the other the errors and shortcomings of his faith. Inevitably this tends to break down allegiance and respect, though outwardly the young may defend the cause they have espoused, and they may

Respect for institutions and superiors

conform to the conventional methods of showing appreciation. But inwardly doubts and suspicions, aroused by the attitudes of associates, begin to develop, and they often strengthen until they destroy the original attitudes of regard and homage.

But it is altogether different in reference to the training of the young to respect the state. From the moment they begin to understand any sort of instruction they are duly impressed with the greatness and majesty, and even the holiness, of the sovereign, and all who are the direct instruments of his will. In every schoolroom the mention even of the name of the supreme ruler is made an occasion for the display of high regard by the pupils. The emperor's picture adorns many schoolrooms, and no opportunity is missed to awaken in the young lively feelings of appreciation of and devotion to him. There is no splitting up into antagonistic groups among the pupils, some manifesting regard for the sovereign and others maligning him. If there is any show of disrespect on the part of nonconformists, the offenders are quickly suppressed, so that their vicious influence may not be permitted to poison the minds of those who are well disposed. In this way, the young are kept in an attitude of what outwardly resembles respect for everything that pertains to the state as it is constituted at the moment. In the same way, respect is developed for the rulers of the household, — the father and mother, and all adult members of the family.

Respect *vs.* the observance of conventional proprieties

But is this really respect? or is it simply the observance of conventional proprieties? Are not "respectful" children very often simply those who are "civil" toward those in authority over them, whether kings, magistrates, parents, teachers, or ministers? Such children make way before their "superiors," and respond to their inquiries with "yes, sir," and "no, sir"; while children lacking "respect" in popular usage do not apparently recognize any social distinction between those in

authority and playmates. For a child to address his father as "sir," while he does not so address his brother, is usually taken to denote that he appreciates his father's excellence, and respects him for it. So, in the view of many people, children who are properly trained in the matter of respect will not interrupt their elders when they are talking; they will give them first choice in every situation where there is an advantage in having the pick.

Respect *vs.* admiration

It has been intimated in previous chapters that before adolescence children do not "naturally" take attitudes toward their elders or their rulers in the ways just mentioned. A boy of seven, say, does not normally manifest homage spontaneously in the presence of his father because of the latter's excellence, except it be in the matter of unusual strength or courage or mechanical skill. So the child really does not in a true sense respect his father, no more than he respects any one else. He may admire a noted athlete or pugilist or an engineer or a fireman, but he cannot be said to respect him. So the deference he shows to those in authority is generally the result of fear, originally at least, though it may be, at the age of seven, say, largely a matter of habit, thus having no significance for the attitude of respect so far as the child's consciousness is concerned. What outwardly may seem to the onlooker to be an indication of recognition by the child of moral excellence in the one to whom he makes obeisance, may often be only a recognition of the wisdom of maintaining such an attitude for his own welfare. Not excellence but chieftainship in a superior is the real motive for assuming the obeisant attitude, if an untaught child can be said to be ever really obeisant. He may be polite outwardly, which will give the appearance of being respectful, but inwardly there will be a profound difference between the two attitudes. A boy of seven, say, is not yet aware, except in a very obscure way at best, of standards of conduct insisted upon by the community, and to which all for the

common good should conform; and he is not critical in detecting whether those about him take cognizance of such a standard. His concern with people has reference primarily, not to their observance or negligence of ethical standards, but to their ability and willingness to help him achieve his ends, or to entertain him or to keep out of his way.

The meaning of *self-respect*

With these introductory words upon the general attitude of respect, we may turn now to a consideration of the attitude of *self-respect*. This latter term implies that one can, on occasion at least, view the self objectively, and take attitudes toward it in certain situations as he would toward the *alter* in similar situations. It has already been said that, in the process of development, it comes about that the self and the *alter* are, allowing for minor exceptions, judged by the same ethical code; though it was stated that, in times of crisis, the individual will ordinarily favor self as against the *alter*. However, there is a more or less prevalent view of the relation of the *ego* and the *alter* which may be mentioned best in this connection, for it has a vital bearing on the attitude of self-respect. This view maintains that the genuinely ethical person will allow others larger freedom of action, in contravention of community-standards, than he will allow himself; that he will overlook in others transgressions which he will not condone in himself. People sometimes say they cannot tolerate in the activities of the self certain kinds of dissembling, as in ordinary society relations, for example, which they may regard as permissible on the part of the *alter* if he can feel justified in his own conscience. This view undoubtedly reflects the trend of the advance guard in ethical evolution, but it is probably not truthful to the situation as it actually exists among us. It indicates that the race is making a supreme effort to develop in the individual the disposition always to exact of the self what he exacts of the *alter;* and in order to put a prize on self-discipline, the latter is sometimes in public representations exalted above its true status

at the present stage of ethical development. There is little need for society to urge the individual constantly to demand that the *alter* live up to community standards, for it is "natural" for one to make insistence of this sort. But it is necessary for society to urge the individual to deal rigidly with the self, which, as we have seen, is not as easy for most persons as to deal rigidly with the *alter*. People then stimulate and encourage and sustain themselves and one another in what they know to be ethically ideal by professing that they have more rigorous standards for self than for the *alter;* but this is a matter of aspiration mainly, if not wholly, for in their daily adjustments they do not seem to show adherence to these higher standards, which seek to keep the self completely under control, restraining it in its egoistic and driving it onward in its altruistic tendencies. The instinctive and habitual inclination of the individual is decidedly in the direction of favoring the self; but his conscious striving, his ideals, look toward holding the self to strict conformity to the highest social rules he knows, while leaving the *alter* to the discipline of his own conscience. Perhaps in certain instances this conscious ideal may have become stronger and more compelling than original tendencies, with which it must be in continual conflict; but if so, it is undoubtedly rare, so rare, indeed, that it may be practically ignored.

Origin of the attitude of self-respect

From what has been said above, it must be apparent now that respect and self-respect develop *pari passu;* and the same must be true also of the negative attitudes of disrespect and shame or mortification or contrition. When a child manifests disrespect for another on account of any act or attitude, he will tend to feel mortification or shame when he perceives himself in the same situation. So when he reaches the stage when he can assume the attitude of respect toward the *alter* for his social or ethical conduct, then he can assume somewhat the same attitude toward the self under similar conditions. It

is very probable that an individual cannot feel either pleased or the opposite with the self, in respect to actions and attitudes which are of indifferent value as viewed in the *alter;* and the converse is unquestionably true. For instance, a boy of five is quite unmoved at the sight of soiled hands or face or clothes in the *alter*, and he feels no shame or humiliation whatever when his parents or nurse call his attention to his own unclean condition. It is the common thing for parents to attempt to shame their children at every meal on account of their soiled hands and face; but their efforts to arouse attitudes of self-condemnation fail utterly. Day after day and year after year the same efforts are made by the parents with the same outcome, until in the process of development the ideal of physical cleanliness commences to be established among the child's system of values, when he will manifest displeasure at the sight of uncleanness. And as soon as he begins to appreciate this ideal with reference to self, he begins to appreciate it also as desirable in others.

In the early years cleanliness in a companion is not a trait which the child counts for or against him at all, unless he be extremely offensive, so that he is a source of physical annoyance, to the sense of smell mainly. The æsthetic or hygienic feeling of the child of five, say, is very rarely outraged by the condition of his companions or any of his associates. It is true he may notice a very dirty face or a badly torn and soiled suit, but he regards them mainly as objects of curiosity. He does not assume a repellent attitude toward them, though he may repeat current conventional condemnatory phrases taught him by his mother or nurse. Not until the adolescent period is reached, and sex appreciation and feeling is awakened, does the individual become genuinely responsive to *neatness*, *cleanliness*, etc., in appearance. Before this he must be urged to attend to his toilet so as to conform to conventional practice; but it is an arbitrary matter wholly with him, and unless constant pressure be applied to him he will relapse into his original

indifference to personal appearance, and he will not feel humiliated if he is detected with dirty hands or clothes.

One rarely sees a child before the adolescent period *ashamed* or *mortified* or *humiliated* or even *chagrined*. There is no evidence that *remorse* or *contrition* is felt before this time. The child may be *annoyed* and *sorry* and *suppliant*, and the like; but these latter attitudes, which are aroused in direct adjustment to objective conditions, are quite different from the former, which show subjective feeling with discipline of the self. A child may be suppliant as a matter of expediency, but not show the least inclination toward self-condemnation; one can tell by looking at him that he is merely doing the thing which he feels will at the moment save him from trouble. Instantly the indignant parent or nurse or teacher is appeased, the child assumes his wonted attitudes, in which he shows no consciousness of having transgressed any rules. But it is otherwise with the expressions of the mortified individual. His social environment may change, but he may remain unchanged until the subjective difficulty into which his transgression has plunged him can be cleared up. As you watch the adolescent who has been made ashamed, you can see that, unlike the seven-year-old who has had exactly the same experience in outward features, his attention is wholly subjective and his emotions centrifugal in direction. He is not now studying the attitudes of the *alter*, so that he can return to his accustomed self-confidence and self-assertiveness as soon as the latter relents in his resentful expressions; on the contrary, he is endeavoring to adjust his recent action to his ideal of what he should do, which ideal has been established in the manner worked out in preceding paragraphs. In the same way a child may before adolescence be *vain* of his possessions, or some article of adornment, as a ring; or he may be *haughty* or *overbearing;* but he shows none of the attitudes attendant upon feelings of *self-approbation* or

Appearance of the attitudes of shame, humiliation, remorse, self-esteem, etc.

honor or *esteem* or *veneration*. That is to say, the self as an object to be respected or condemned does not play a part in the individual's feelings and attitudes before the adolescent epoch.

The child's reaction to reproof

It is suggestive to note how unconcernedly children from the age of two or three to eleven or twelve receive reproof and criticism which might stir an older person very deeply. Sometimes one is placed in situations where he is compelled to witness a teacher, parent, or other person attempting to arouse shame or remorse or contrition in a child, by charging him with offenses against fair play or truthfulness or decency or honor. The older person, even as an onlooker, may feel the sting of the rebukes given, but the child is liable to react as he may think best in adaptation to the immediate situation. His attention is likely to be wholly objective, so that the chiding does not strike in as the one who administers it expected it would. The child is apt to rebound the moment the criticism ceases, in which respect he is strikingly different from the adult, who would either feel abased or indignant, according as he thought the charges just or otherwise. Children before adolescence do not strongly feel resentment toward those who ascribe to them more or less serious deviation from social, ethical, and moral standards, in which regard they are again very different from the adult. This must mean that the child does not realize that the self is seriously injured by such charges of social alienation. It is true that a child as early as the fourth year will usually deny when accused that he has violated any rule of conduct which has been impressed upon him, mainly because of the attitude of the one who blames him. He feels, rather instinctively, that he should resist any one when he is in that peculiar attitude toward him which is seen in one who is charging another with some transgression. It does not make much difference to the child what the *content* of the charge may be; the featural, vocal, and bodily attitudes

are what give the victim his cue as to the sort of reaction he is to make. I can assume the attitudes of one who is charging another with lying, and then accuse a six-year-old of having studied his lessons in school faithfully, and he will assume the negative or resistant attitude, thinking that I must be censuring him, and if he does not repel the charge he will be penalized.

The child's indifference to his reputation

The child before adolescence does not mind seriously what people think of him, except as their estimate is expressed definitely in very concrete actions affecting his immediate welfare. The boy likes to be spoken well of on the playground for his skill, since then he will be permitted to play in prominent positions in the group games. He likes to be talked about as a daring fellow, who cannot be frightened; and to be made the leader of the group is a coveted honor, for which he will sacrifice much, and undergo ordeals of considerable rigor. At the same time it will annoy him to be called a "tittle-tattle," or "coward," or "quitter." However, his attitude in such a case is a combative or angry one, rather than one of humiliation, whether he be guilty or not. It approaches more nearly to humiliation the older the boy gets; until, in the high-school period, for one to be called by his fellows a prevaricator or talebearer, or to be given any other term of reproach, may cause him keen pain of the humiliative type, unless the victim feels he has been unjustly accused, when his attitude will probably be one of indignation and antagonism.

This suggests how much more highly the adolescent values "reputation"—his ethical, moral, and social rating in the eyes of his fellows—than does the child. One reason doubtless is because the former has come to see more or less clearly that his well-being along every line depends upon his keeping the confidence and good-will of his associates, while the child, being under the care of his parents, does not really need to secure the confidence of those about him, except in

respect to his playfellows. But it is otherwise with the adolescent, who is looking forward eagerly to the time when he will play an independent rôle in social life, at which time he will prosper or fail according as he does or does not have the confidence of his associates.

It is significant that the typical boy of seven or so has little desire to stand high in his studies or deportment in school, unless there is some concrete and very tangible reward therefor, such as a prize, or excuse from attending all the exercises of the school. He does not care for the reputation he gets in respect to intellectual abilities or behavior; and the efforts of the teacher to appeal to the boy's desire to be a "good and intelligent man like his father" prove futile in the great majority of cases. There is nothing within the child's experience which would enable him to respond to such an appeal. It is true that pupils, especially girls, from about the tenth year on are sometimes eager to get good "marks" in their studies; but it is probable that in doing so they wish, more or less unconsciously, to win the good-will of the teacher and to avoid her scolding, rather than to gain the admiration of their schoolmates. So they do not experience true ethical or moral pride any more than they experience shame. They may assume the general attitudes produced by these emotional states in older individuals; but such attitudes are aroused in view of outward and physical rather than ethical situations.

It should be noted, however, that as the individual develops he can scarcely avoid having experiences wherein, through repetition, it is made evident to him that certain sorts of conduct are *naughty* or *bad* or *mean* or *low* or *vulgar* and the like. And the individuals who are guilty of such actions are declared not to be "nice" or "respectable" or "decent," and people must let them alone, or not show them favors, or invite them to parties, or share playthings with them, and so on. This expression of disapproval of evil doing, which is going on in the presence of the child

much of the time, makes him feel that it will be to his disadvantage if anything of the kind is charged upon him. So he comes to resist vigorously whenever he is accused; and gradually he acquires a hostile attitude toward the one who accuses him, much as he would be angered at one who would strike him or otherwise injure him. The ten-year-old can hardly realize that his good name or his reputation will be blasted when misconduct is charged upon him; he only feels in a general sort of way that if an accusation against him is left to stand he will suffer for it in some concrete manner. It is not on account of his eagerness to protect the self from moral or ethical injury that he reacts with such vigor against his accusers, but only that he does not want their indictments to rob him of any definite advantage he was enjoying before the charges were made. It is needless to add, possibly, that the transition from this stage in social development to the stage when the individual's reactions to accusations always occur, in view of strong feeling for the preservation of the self against ethical debasement by the *alter*, is very gradual indeed; but it should be emphasized that there is such a transition, and when it has been accomplished the individual reveals in all his expressions the change that has been wrought. It is of importance to note in this connection that we do not often hear the phrase, "a self-respecting child," which indicates that people have apparently not noted in the young the attitudes which are an indication of regard for the ethical self, and of intense feeling of the humiliative type when it falls below the ideal of conduct set up for it by the individual.

The attitude of respect is taken in view primarily of the motives of action

Our discussion thus far has led us to see that the attitude of respect is one mainly of *appreciation;* it is not essentially dynamic. The child who loves a friend will normally manifest his affection in very definite objective ways; and the principle applies in respect to his feeling of hatred, and the like. But when he reaches the point where he begins to re-

spect or disrespect his father or other person, he is likely to grow subdued in his expression. The situations which call forth the latter attitudes are not so simple and well defined as in the case of the former ones; and they concern *motives* rather than the outcome of action, or the external attributes thereof. Then as the individual acquires the tendency to go back of the actions of people to the feelings which prompt them, and take his attitudes in view of what he finds in the springs of conduct; as he inclines to take account of *intentions* rather than *results* in the conduct of the *alter*, he grows naturally into the attitude of respect or the opposite. With broadening experience he comes to see more or less clearly that what is of real consequence in the *alter* is good, true purpose, and faithfulness in the performance of duty under all circumstances; and the man who can be trusted may be respected and honored, while the one who is not sound at heart merits only distrust and contempt. So the sentiment of respect concerns mainly the springs of conduct; if they are pure in any particular case we respect the individual in question, even if the outcome of his actions is not always such as we might wish. But if the fountains of conduct are tainted we will put no further trust in the individual, for even though he may for the moment be in harmony with ethical standards of action, still we could not depend upon him if he should see an opportunity to take advantage of us. We can count upon the man whose motives are right, though he may be crude and ill-advised in some of his relations; but we must always be on our guard against the sly, deceitful person, or he may stab us when our back is turned. Respect for a man gives us confidence in him, while we are suspicious of the one whom we cannot respect.

As the child grows into the adolescent period and becomes ever more subjective in his tendencies, inevitably he begins to give attention to the motives behind his own conduct. As he queries whether the *alter* is faithful, to the end that

he can be trusted, so he inclines, ever more largely with development, to ask the same question of himself. If he can answer it in the affirmative, he can have confidence in his own integrity, in which case the general character of his conduct will reveal his sense of congruity with social and ethical ideals. He will resent a suggestion from any one that he is not worthy of the trust and confidence of his fellows. His very bearing will show that he is vitally conscious of the self in its relation to the ethical standards of the community. One cannot detect in the expressions of a ten-year-old any evidence that he is affected by a contemplation of the status of the self with respect to these standards. He simply lives his life of adjustment to concrete situations, in a wholly non-subjective or non-reflective way. But it is very different with the twenty-year-old. One can see in his attitudes clear testimony that the self has been made the subject of reflection; and the results thereof determine how the self reacts upon the *alter's* expressions. The aim in this reflection is always to survey the self in view of the felt standards in the community. If such an examination shows that the self is not a transgressor, the individual will assume toward the *alter* an attitude of assurance or courage. He will feel that he is "as good as others"; he has "nothing to be ashamed of"; his "conscience is clear." But if in his introspection he finds that he falls below the standards which he imposes upon others, and which are represented in public as binding upon all, then he will tend to treat the self in some such way as he treats the *alter* when the latter is found guilty. He will hesitate to go freely among his associates. He will be uncomfortable when he is with them, and he will not exhibit his accustomed courage and freedom until he has expiated his sin, or until he has forgotten it, and regains the feeling that he is again in harmony with the moral standards of his community.

The influence of adolescent development upon the attitude of self-respect

If the *alter* be found guilty of a shameful deed, the indi-

vidual will express his disapproval thereof in some more or less dynamic way. He will not simply have *feeling* in reference to the offender; he will strive to turn public sentiment against him, or he will refuse to have relations with him, or he may deal directly with him, inflicting upon him physical injury, or condeming him "to his face," thus hoping to humiliate or mortify him. But when the self is detected in the performance of a shameful act, the only dynamic attitude that can be taken is a penitential one, in which the individual inclines to punish the self in some manner, by stripes, by fasting, by prayers, and the like. Normally this attitude is actually taken, thus showing that the self and the *alter* are judged by somewhat the same code. In its essential characteristics the attitude is one of moral disintegration, a weakening of the assurance of the self in relation to the *alter*. Loss of self-respect is then essentially a loss of confidence and courage in social adjustments. As one who has lost his self-respect is in a hostile attitude toward self, so he fancies the *alter* assumes the same relation toward him, and he succumbs, except when he makes a supreme effort to resist the destructive influence of social condemnation, when he may become brazen and militant, a situation to be considered later.

The effect upon the individual of loss of self-respect

The expressions just noted are rarely if ever seen in children before adolescence. The ten-year-old boy may wilt under the condemning gaze or speech of one who knows he has committed an offense against decency or fair play; he may be confused and embarrassed while his accuser is present to his senses; but he will recover the moment there is a change in the one who condemns him. This is not the case though at sixteen and after, for then a feeling of mortification will endure after the one who occasioned it has disappeared. When shame is experienced by the adolescent his whole organism is unhappily affected, even the physiological processes, and the disturbance is not easily or quickly overcome.

It is probable that the individual cannot suffer in this manner until the adolescent revolution is well under way, and consciousness of sex has emerged. When sex appreciation makes its advent, it gives tone and color to most if not all of the individual's sentiments. To a very important extent, the adolescent thinks of self in terms of the reaction of the opposite sex; though if this reaction indicates lack of confidence, or disdain, contempt, and the like, the individual may resist it, and he may seek for reasons to sustain the self against its defamers. But sooner or later the attitudes of the other sex will play an important rôle in determining his estimate of himself, in respect to moral and social qualities particularly. Moreover, the relations of sex greatly enlarge the range of personal attitudes, and give rise to sentiments which have had no existence heretofore, since there has been no function for them to perform. The evolution of these subtle sentiments gives a new direction to the individual's feelings and renders them far more subjective than they were before this epoch. Normally the adolescent is most eager to seem to be of consequence in the world, to have merit in the eyes of those whose goodwill and confidence he greatly desires.

The effect upon the attitude of self-respect of the development of sex appreciation

In brief, as soon as the individual experiences strong attachment for one of the opposite sex, he cannot avoid feeling deeply that he should be worthy of this one's affection and trust. This leads him to a searching of heart and to an examination of motives, such as the ten-year-old never undertakes, and the results of this experience determine whether the adolescent will in contemplation of himself have self-respect or the opposite. If he is conscious of not being worthy, but if at the same time he is earnest in his intentions to be better, to live up to the standards which those he admires expect him to do, then he will assume the attitudes of contrition and humility. As he views his past he may be overcome with shame or mortification or remorse;

but as he looks forward he may see himself a different individual, one who will realize in his thought, feeling, and action the ideals which he has set for himself, because they are prominent in the estimate of him held by those whose sentiments are of chief concern to him. True humility is, perhaps, the most complex and subtle of all the individual's attitudes, and so it is never seen until toward the completion of the developmental process.

Résumé

As a general thing a man will be respected by his associates only when he observes, outwardly at least, in his public and private life the more important moral and social standards and ideals of the group with which he has vital relations. Respect is a less definite and direct attitude than most of those the individual assumes in his social adjustments ; it is a restrained and appreciative rather than a demonstrative and dynamic attitude.

Among some peoples a supreme effort is made to develop in the young respect for the established institutions of church and state and their representatives. Such peoples are more stable, but less plastic, than a people like the Americans. Also their children show more respect for parents, teachers, ministers, and the like than do our children. However, what may outwardly sometimes appear to be respect is nothing but observance of conventional proprieties. Again, a boy's admiration for an athlete or engineer or other person who "does things" is often regarded as respect for him, but the two attitudes are essentially different.

It is sometimes said that a genuinely ethical person will grant to the *alter* larger freedom of action in contravention of community standards than he will allow himself, and that he will overlook in others transgressions which he will not excuse in himself. But this is a matter of aspiration mainly ; in order to urge the individual to treat the *alter* as he does the self, the ideal of holding a higher standard for the self than the *alter* is purposefully overemphasized in public appeal.

Respect and self-respect develop *pari passu*. The individual cannot feel pleased or otherwise with the self in respect to actions which are viewed indifferently in the *alter ;* and the reverse is equally true. Before adolescence children are rarely ashamed or mortified or chagrined. They may feel annoyed or irritated, but they do not experience remorse or contrition. Their attention in social adjustment is always objective. They do not view the self in its relation to the social and ethical standards of the community.

Young children recover immediately from reproof or censure which might profoundly affect an adult, whose self-respect would be deeply

wounded. Children are quite indifferent to their "reputation," in which particular they are the direct contrast of the adult. However, a child may resist accusations of wrongdoing because he feels that if he lets it go he will suffer some concrete disadvantage.

Respect is an attitude taken in view primarily of motives rather than the outcome of actions. Children cannot assume this attitude, then, until they begin to take account of the intentions of the *alter* in his conduct. Respect for a man gives one confidence in him, while we are suspicious of a person whom we cannot respect. At adolescence the individual begins to regard the self in the light of the motives behind its attitudes, which inclines him toward self-respect or the opposite.

Loss of self-respect involves loss of courage and confidence in social adjustments. These expressions are rarely seen in children before adolescence. The development of sex appreciation at adolescence gives rise to attitudes of shame and the like, which may profoundly disturb the entire organism. The individual who, viewing his past, sees moral standards broken, but who at the same time earnestly desires to conform to these standards in the future, will assume the very complex attitudes of contrition and humility.

CHAPTER VI

DOCILITY

In preceding chapters attention has been directed to the individual's readiness in appropriating the experience of others, when he sees clearly that it can be of service to him in accomplishing the ends for which he is striving at any period in his development. It has been pointed out that the child prefers as companions those who are capable of teaching him how to perform tasks which he is endeavoring to master. In general, the boy who can organize a new game is preferred above one who has no ingenuity in this respect, unless, indeed, he is a noteworthy leader in other ways. If he be superior in any form of athletics within the range of the child's abilities, the latter will ordinarily make a favorite of him. We have noted, further, that in the early years the individual is not strongly attracted by intellectual or moral superiority in his associates, so that he does not normally choose playmates who can instruct him in regard to these matters. That is to say, the young child does not assume a learning or docile attitude toward certain aspects of his social environment, while he is distinctly in such an attitude with reference to other phases thereof, those presenting opportunities for acquiring acts involving competitive or constructive activities within his sphere of appreciation and execution. He is usually eager to follow after any leader who excels in games, or who is skillful in making a kite or a boat, say. So, too, he will learn readily enough from one who can show him how to whistle, as an example, or to perform tricks requiring the dextrous use of any member of his body.

The child as a learner

Boys who can turn a somersault or handspring or the

like easily becomes leaders, and readily acquire a following of companions in an assimilative attitude. Again, skill (crude, of course) in playing the simpler musical instruments will make a boy prominent among his fellows, though this does not apply as a rule to the more complex instruments, especially the piano, until the adolescent revolution is well under way; and even then the expert musician will attract only a few choice learners. But one may observe in any community that young boys gravitate toward an associate who can play the jew's-harp, or mouth organ, or drum, or bones, and they neglect no opportunity to practice these instruments for themselves, and to secure the leader's help in learning the coveted art. Once more, the child is always in a docile attitude toward his elders, and in general his protectors, whenever he ventures into the world among people or things that are strange to him. Often children who persist in "having their own way" in the home will be utterly compliant and tractable when they go into the city with father or mother or any older friend. However, as they grow to feel at ease in any situation, they tend normally to become more independent in it, and less responsive to the suggestions of those whom they once obeyed implicitly. Strangeness, fear, danger appear to awaken the instinct of docility in the young; while in the youth or the adult they might stimulate attitudes of courage or defiance.

His attitude toward most of the culture and the conventions of society

But while the child is by birth a learner in respect to the sorts of activities and situations just indicated, he is in a quite different attitude toward most of the social conventionalities and the culture to which the adults of the community attach supreme importance. From Plato down all observers of the young have noticed the reluctance of children to adopt the customs and "manners" of society; they strenuously resist the imposition upon them of the "polite" attitudes generally assumed by the adults about them. As a

general thing, pressure must be applied continuously in one way or another until the adolescent period is reached in order to compel a child to observe conventionalities in respect to speech, dress, toilet, and so on, which are universally observed by the grown people in his community. It normally requires great patience to teach a boy to be "civil" to his superiors; he naturally resists instruction of the sort, and follows it only when he realizes that he will be heavily penalized if he fails to do so. As a rule, boys must be trained for a long period to do such a simple thing as to lift their caps to ladies, and often instruction must be reinforced by physical stimuli applied repeatedly before the boy comes habitually to observe this formality. So in respect to most of the customs of an hospitable, æsthetic, hygienic, and reverential character as found in the drawing-room, the dining-room, the school, the church, and so on.

Convention as a load on feeling, inoperative in childhood

These conventions are for the most part expressive of a certain amount of courteous deference, and at the same time of reserve in the relations of adults; but the attitudes they demand in their observance seem not to harmonize with the tendencies of the child. In assuming these attitudes the adult cannot be said to be really spontaneous; he is more or less formal, and to a certain degree restrained, and it may be artificial. He observes the major conventions whether or not at the moment he experiences the emotions of which they are naturally the expression. He will under ordinary social conditions often assume attitudes of respect and friendliness, even though he feels otherwise. At the same time he will hold in check his impulses to come into physical rapport with those who awaken his emotions of affection, except under certain conditions where restraining customs are not operative. That is to say, the adult has, through his conventions, brought himself into outward conformity to the more important practices of society, even though inwardly he may be greatly at variance therewith. But the

child's inner and outer attitudes tend normally to be congruent. If he feels anger, it is as a rule immediately put out into correlated motor adjustments. So if he feels friendliness, or doubt, or envy, the subjective state is embodied in appropriate outward expressions. When he bears affection toward an individual he is likely to express it by striving to embrace the object of his emotion, or to fondle or play with him in some way. On the other hand, when he feels antipathy toward a person he is apt to endeavor directly either to punish him or to put him out of the way. In any case, feeling tends to lead him into some sort of immediate physical contact with the objects inciting it; whereas in adult life the observance of conventions serves in a way as a barrier to keep individuals physically apart, and to prevent the direct expression of strong emotion.

The change at adolescence

As the individual enters the adolescent period, and his range of personal adjustment is much enlarged, with the result that new and more and more complex and vital relations come to be established between himself and his associates, then he begins to feel the meaning and value of ceremonious conduct, which may as occasion requires express friendly or hostile relations without direct physical contact, or convey to the world attitudes which are not actually felt. As the current of life broadens, and the slumbering impulses are aroused, there is gradually forced upon the individual the realization that immediate, primitive expression of feeling is inadvisable in a large proportion of social situations, and so he more or less readily adapts himself to customary modes of intercourse. The adolescent sees with some measure of clearness that the stability and peace of the community require that individuals assume conventional attitudes of affection, or respect, or deference, or antagonism, rather than to give way to unrestrained or unmodified passion, which is characteristic of the child. The youth cannot fail to appreciate that a society of adults, where emotion should be expressed

as bluntly as it is among children, would be one in which there would be constant conflict and disorder, as there is indeed in groups of children.

So the individual must subdue his feelings, and give them vent only in the general ways which all may practice. This serves to preserve individuality to a certain extent; it protects the self in its isolation, and yet it permits of sufficiently intimate intercourse so that the advantages of communication and coöperation may be secured. The point is that the child will assume a docile attitude toward the conventions of which those mentioned are typical only as his expanding life makes him feel their value, and really their necessity. At seven, say, he appears to have no realization of their utility, though there may be dawning upon him the conception that if he observes them he will get on more happily with the people around him, and they will favor him in a variety of ways. The "polite" boy will probably be commended by his parents and his neighbors, though he is not likely to receive the approval of his associates, who have not reached the point where they esteem "politeness" as a desirable quality in a leader. Normally the child up to adolescence is relatively incapable of noting the advantages to be derived from the observance of social customs; the tide of his buoyant life runs so strongly toward expression of social feeling that he is more or less indifferent to the attitudes of adults in their reaction upon his conduct in this respect.

The process of assimilating social conventions

It is important in this connection to note the behavior of the child who is coerced by those in authority into adopting the social conventions indicated. Here is a boy whose mother is teaching him to remove his hat, let us say, to the ladies on the street. At the outset he normally resists; he says he does not see why he should be made to do it; and when he neglects the thing he excuses himself by saying that he could not remember it, or that it was impossible for him to perform it, when

his real reason was his unwillingness to conform to the convention. One may hear boys of six or seven discussing among themselves this custom as a typical one, and they often ridicule it, and declare they will resist efforts made to compel them to observe it. An unpracticed boy does not "feel like himself" when he attempts it; it is not in accord with his habitual adjustments in such situations. It is as though he were assuming the personality of another, which, if he did it spontaneously, he could assimilate with his own personality; but when he is coerced into it there is a conflict with the old habitual self, which does not coalesce readily with this new self as modified by adult convention; hence the peculiar reaction. There is discord at this point in his evolution between the child's real attitude toward people, and that which is urged upon him by his trainers. If left to himself, he would not adopt this to him peculiar mode of social expression, until he reached the place in his development where it would very clearly have value for him in facilitating his adaptations to the people around him. He would then be in the docile attitude in respect to it, but not before.

The child's reactions upon conventions forced on him

The child's efforts to assimilate conventions forced on him are attended by rather extraordinary outward demonstrations, which are doubtless the reflex of the incongruous and perturbed inner states. In popular phrasing, he does the conventional thing half-heartedly. He may go through the process, but nevertheless he is in a resistant attitude toward it. Outwardly it seems that his personality is split in twain, one part contesting with the other. When the individual performs an act that is, as we say, "normal to his nature," his entire being proceeds in a unified manner in its expression, the aim being to concentrate the whole organism in all its movements upon the task that is to be accomplished. But it is otherwise with an act which he performs as a result of social pressure. This he does not treat respectfully. He

scoffs at it; "makes fun" of it; does not try to do it just as the adult does, but exaggerates some aspect of it, or introduces ridiculous features on his own part. He does not give himself to it. The attitudes are more or less antagonistic; now he tends to resist, and now to conform. In a situation of this sort the individual is not dynamic; his energy is not concentrated into any one expressive channel. Throughout the child's development, when he is being coerced into the adoption of adult conventions, he manifests this peculiar attitude, showing his lack of docility with reference to them; but still he may choose to conform to many of them rather than to suffer the penalties of nonconformity.

On the other hand there are some conventions, as putting on a napkin at the beginning of a meal, for instance, that some children will resist for a considerable period, several years often, even though they are "scolded" three times every day, and perhaps sent away from the table. In the majority of American homes doubtless there is more or less conflict over "table manners," until the last child gets started on his adolescent reformation. It is, of course, somewhat different in countries where from the beginning the child is kept under, and regularly penalized for any infraction of rules or neglect of conventions. But even at a German, English, or Italian table, where children are given a chance to show their natural inclinations, one may see how slow they are to adopt adult manners, and how they resist them if they feel they have a show of gaining their own way.

It is significant to observe the methods of the parent, the teacher, or the minister in dealing with children in their indifference or hostility to such social conventions as have been mentioned. The child may go just far enough in any instance so that he can say he has complied with the command laid upon him, but usually he has only partially conformed, and in spirit he may have been in a resistant

attitude constantly. The parent then may say, "Why don't you do as I wish you to?" "Why are you not more in earnest?" "Why do you take this thing as a joke?" and so on through a long list of fault-finding questions, all directed at the lack of appreciation of the necessity of being serious and faithful in the performance of an act. Even when the child "does what he is told" without much resistance, he may still fail to execute an action as his elders do, and up to the measure of his own abilities, if he is given any freedom to follow his inclinations. He will take advantage of any opportunity to have fun, at the risk of not thoroughly, completely, and accurately performing his task. His attitude in such cases is not one in which he seeks to imitate an adult model as closely as he can; but he tends rather to pursue his own immediate play interests. That is to say, the child is not normally, in respect to most of his activities, in the learning attitude, in the sense that he will strive to emulate the adult in his serious activities, in order that he may achieve the results which the adult endeavors to attain. The child's interest in what the adult does is for play purposes only, and so he is satisfied with mere suggestion; and to be obliged to conform in all details proves a hardship, and is resisted. In his play the child really is more of an originator or inventor than a slavish imitator, which makes precise correspondence with adult models distasteful.

The learner turned teacher

Before leaving this point, it should be noted that when the individual assimilates any convention so that his feeling is agreeably expressed thereby, then he becomes a teacher of those who have not yet accepted it. He comes to insist upon its adoption by his associates, and he may be unsparing in his criticism of those who neglect or refuse to conform. This can be clearly observed in respect to table manners, which we have already frequently cited. Here is a boy who at seven needed to be prompted at every meal in regard to the proper use of the

napkin, the fork, the right bodily attitudes, and so on; and he never appeared grateful to his instructors. But now at twelve he disciplines his younger brother regularly for these same offenses which he has outgrown, and which he considers to be of serious consequence for the welfare of the family. He does not hesitate to ascribe rather vulgar traits to his brother for just such behavior as he thought altogether proper a few years earlier. He is not inclined to be charitable in his demands; indeed, he is considerably more summary and insistent with his brother than his parents were with him when he was in his brother's stage of development. So one who will follow a boy from his fifth year on through adolescence may observe that, while at five he ignored certain conventions, at fifteen he may be a great stickler for these same things, and he may gather about him groups of his former companions, who have not progressed as far as he has, for the purpose of teaching them his accomplishment. Of course, this is not done in a deliberate manner; but nevertheless the tendency of the individual is to impress his customs, as rapidly as he acquires them, upon all his associates. This can be observed at any time in reference to such matters as the particular mode of doffing the hat, the style of the handshake, and the like, but the principle applies to all the more subtle and involved conventions as well.

Is the child docile toward the wise?

Is the child then normally in a docile attitude toward his elders, simply on the basis of their having had greater experience than he, and so understanding better the dangers as well as the opportunities in the world? This attitude is seen in the majority, perhaps, of adults with reference to some, at least, of their adjustments to their environments. The young man of twenty-five inclines, as a rule, to sit at the feet of those who are very evidently his superiors in the field of activity in which he is particularly interested. What Socrates did in Athens, every great teacher since his time has done to some extent

at least. Let it be known among men that a certain man has acquired greater wisdom than his fellows in respect to any vital phase of life, and that he is willing to impart his wisdom to others, and he can gather about him a band of young men who will be completely in an assimilative frame of mind. They will wish to learn, to profit by the wise man's experience and views of life. But how is it with the boy of three, say? We have already noted that the child seeks aid in reference to his concrete, dynamic life from all persons who may serve him. Even at the tender age of three leadership begins to play an important rôle in the individual's social adjustment; and it is always determined on the basis of unusual courage, or superiority in games or constructive skill. The children in any neighborhood will gravitate toward one of their number who has insight and skill above the average much more readily than they will incline toward a child of only mediocre ability.

Children as early as the age of five will largely ignore a fellow who has no qualities of leadership, unless he can be made use of to practice on by his more aggressive companions. In order that a leader may gratify his ambitions, he must be attended by followers who will do his bidding. It is true he will not so often go to them as he will bring them to him; but he will appear to have an interest in them merely because they are essential to the realization of his ends. In a case of this sort it is not possible to detect the slightest evidence that the leader assumes an attitude of docility toward his followers, as they do toward him, and as he will assume toward any person whom he regards as a leader. Thus the child normally is at one time a learner, he is docile; and at another time he is a teacher, or a bully. What he gains by suggestion from his superiors he attempts to work out on his inferiors. So while he may play second fiddle to the leader in his school, he may be an autocrat with the boys on his own street, or with the younger children in his home. Throughout his whole developmental

career he reveals this tendency to practice what he is learning, though with development there comes a change in respect to the relative prominence of the learning and the practicing attitudes. Not infrequently the young autocrat in the home or on the playground becomes a humble learner as a youth of twenty; while a timid follower at five may come to assume the rôle of autocrat at thirty. Biography presents numerous illustrations of this transformation, though it is impossible to say what proportion of children pass through this metamorphosis.

The child's attitude is predominantly dynamic rather than assimilative.

Answering the question asked a few paragraphs back, we may now say that normally the child does not, except in certain ways to be indicated, play the rôle of learner to his elders, whose experiences have been vastly broader than his own in respect to social adjustments. We have noted that the child as early as three is eager to learn from his father how to make a toy, or take a clock to pieces, or skate, or whistle, or perform any definite, concrete act within his range of appreciation and execution; but even so he assumes this docile attitude only in order that he may get a suggestion as to how to perform the task, when he at once abandons his docility. For example, a father and his four-year-old son are out driving. The boy wishes to take the reins, and guide the horse. He must be shown how to grasp and hold them; but the moment he catches the elementary notion of how the thing is done so that he can execute it even crudely and imperfectly, he ceases to be docile. He wants now to proceed in his own way. He tends normally to resist further instruction, provided he can at all do the thing in hand. He is not eager to perfect himself in the details of the process, as his father wishes him to do. What he seeks to do now is to take the initiative in execution; he strives to try on the general suggestion he gained at the outset, and make particularizations of his own. As he goes on in his development and comes into situations where his crude

work will be penalized, he may then place himself in the learning attitude again, in order that he may perfect his execution up to the point where it will not be a disadvantage to him. But the moment he reaches this point he reverts to the executive attitude, even though he is still quite deficient in the eyes of his superiors. So throughout the developmental process, the assimilative and the executive attitudes alternate with one another; but the latter is the more prominent and urgent in the individual's adjustments to the skill and culture which exist in his environment.

The most striking illustration of the child's indocility is seen in his attitude toward the advice of his elders regarding his conduct in certain physical and ethical situations. Practically all young children actively resist, or are largely indifferent to, the efforts of adults to make them take proper precautions to preserve their health. Note, for instance, the incessant conflict between the young and their parents in the typical American home in respect to the bill of fare and the manner of eating. The parent says to the child that this or that article of food will do him harm in some way, but the chances are that the latter will eat it if he wants it, unless the parent forcibly restrains him. So instruction is given regarding thorough mastication, but the child may bolt his food as though he had been advised not to chew it at all. In the same way he is normally quite impervious to the advice of his elders respecting all matters of personal hygiene,—keeping the clothing dry, preserving an erect posture in sitting, avoiding irregularities and excesses in eating and drinking, guarding against exposure to cold, and so on *ad libitum*.

The observing parent knows that if he would cause his counsel on these matters to become effective, he must usually make it very evident that severe penalty will immediately follow failure to comply with commands. Even then children generally learn only by trial what they may and what they may not do, so far as their physical well-being is concerned.

A striking instance of this is seen in the prevalence of cigarette smoking among boys, despite the opposition of practically all adults in the community. However, as their range of experience increases, and they discover that the instruction in reference to special matters given them by their elders has proven to be sound, they tend to place greater confidence in whatever advice is offered them from this source, until in the course of maturing they may come to feel that their own experience has been as broad and valuable as their teacher's, when they are likely again to abandon the docile attitude toward the instructors of their childhood and youth, though they may still preserve the learning attitude toward certain new-found teachers whom they regard as exceptionally wise.

Indocility with respect to ethical instruction

Turning to the child's docility in regard to ethical instruction, we see that he does not willingly sit at the feet of his elders and learn from them what is good and what is evil in social adjustments; on the contrary, he makes strenuous efforts to impose his own conceptions on his elders. He desires, we will say, to attend the theatre in the evening. His parents know from their experience that this would not be well for him; but if he be given leeway he will with extraordinary perseverance endeavor to convince them that no harm could come to him from this act, but only benefit. In the majority of situations of the sort indicated the parents must put their experience into effect by main force. The child of tender years is little influenced by the parents' assertion that he will see the rightfulness of such and such a course when he is older, nor can he see the point of such a statement as "your father knows because he has lived longer than you," and so on. As a rule the child is quite unwilling, and perhaps unable, to appreciate the character of any of his own actions as viewed from the adult standpoint.

As pointed out above, the individual as he develops comes to have more and more confidence in the adult's opinions

in regard to some of his adjustments; but in ethical and moral situations there continues to be more or less conflict, at least until the individual approaches maturity. Father and son often disagree as to the question of sowing wild oats; the young man is unwilling to accept his parent's judgment in the matter of his forming regular habits, living a temperate life, and the like. In the same way, the young woman often disagrees with her mother and her chaperone as to what she may do with propriety. In the university, for instance, there is much conflict between students and faculty in respect to the freedom of conduct of the former. The students as a whole are not ready in seeking and following the advice of their elders, so that prohibitive and coercive laws must be made by the latter and enforced on them.

The inevitable conflict between the child and the adult

The principal reason, no doubt, why the adult and the child so often disagree respecting the conduct of the latter is because the former has observed the more or less remote as well as the immediate consequences of actions, while the child takes account of their direct outcome only. An immature individual cannot cast forward into the future very far, because he has not yet orientated himself with respect to the past. He is, indeed, a citizen of the present. If, then, any act will yield him pleasure at the moment, this it is that will determine its worth for him, rather than that which may happen a year, and especially fifty years, hence. It is inevitable, therefore, that the adult should be in conflict with the child in regard to much of the latter's conduct, with the result that the child is often suspicious, we may say, of the former when he offers his advice. Consequently, the child cannot maintain a docile attitude, for the reason that he cannot appreciate that the adult has his interests always at heart.

What usually impresses the child most in the reaction of the adult upon his conduct is the latter's opposition to

his plans; and this opposition seems unreasonable, and ought to be contested so far as expedient. But as the child's life expands, as he gains a body of experiences so that the adult can appeal to his remembrance of the outcome of actions in the past, and as he can point to the experience of others, showing what the consequences of specific actions have been, then he can often lead the learner, the youth, to see the wisdom of his decisions. Thus the youth and the adult grow constantly nearer together, until it happens that the former will come to receive hospitably, and even to seek, the advice of his elders so far as they have anything to offer him beyond his own experience which may be of service to him. Then when he exhausts the wisdom of the people immediately around him, he tends normally, if he continues to develop, to go to the wise men of all times for counsel. But this occurs only in the last epoch of his development, when his attitude is in direct contrast to that assumed in his first stage of social evolution.

Let us glance now at a special phase of the general problem before us. At four or five the boy is sent to school, for the purpose of causing him to assimilate as much of the culture and experience of the race as he may have time to appropriate. What attitude does he normally assume, alike toward this culture, and toward the one who has organized it and seeks to impart it to him? If you observe him in the kindergarten you will find that he is in a docile attitude only in about the same way that he is outside. He is eager to gain from the teacher any aid in respect to the playing of games, or the use of the blocks in constructive exercises, and the like; but the moment he catches the suggestion of how to perform a given process he will not receive further instruction without some protest. His chief interest is in execution, and he assumes the learning attitude to the end simply that he may get the cue thereto. As a result of his eagerness to take the executive attitude, there is likely to be more or less conflict between himself and

Docility in the school

his instructor, when the latter insists that he should improve in his technique in reference to these processes. The teacher must make use of every means at her command to help the child to see that if he would perfect himself in the method of what he is doing, he could derive more pleasure from it; he might become able to do it as well as his fellows; they would not ridicule his work, and so on. The novice usually cannot appreciate that it will be of distinct advantage to him to keep on learning how best to execute his tasks.

The young pupil is not fully, perhaps not even largely, in a docile attitude toward the teacher as the possessor of wisdom greater than his own. If the teacher simply says to him, "It will be better for you in the future if you now learn to do your constructive work more accurately and substantially and æsthetically than you are doing it," she will make but slight impression upon him. In reality he does not feel the truth of what she says. The only thing that will affect him is concrete evidence that he will be the gainer if he continues to assimilate the instruction of his teacher. So he passes on into the elementary school, and exhibits precisely the same attitudes as in the kindergarten toward most of the situations in which he is placed. The teacher may attempt to arouse him to action by telling him that he should study so that he may become a wise and useful man, but her words will fall upon deaf ears as a rule. However, if she presents his numbers, say, so that in acquiring them he is enabled to play a definite game better, or measure the objects around him, or carry on processes of buying and selling, and so on, he will be likely to assume the learning attitude; indeed, he may become eager to appropriate the teacher's knowledge and skill. Otherwise he will be indifferent, or hostile, and he will learn only in order to avoid penalties, or to secure extraneous rewards. It is not difficult to find schools in which most of the pupils are in this indocile attitude toward practically all that is offered them. They are not sympathetic toward the teacher

as the representative of the wisdom of the race; they do not take his point of view at all. From their standpoint the tasks assigned them are unjust, and it is entirely legitimate to escape from them whenever possible. Probably the majority of the pupils in any ordinary school, as at present conducted, would be truants if they dared to be. They do not of their own accord remain in the school so that they may assimilate the wisdom of their elders, but only that they may save their skin.

Docility as affected by broadening experience

As development proceeds, and the range of experience is broadened, it results of necessity that even the majority of individuals should come to see more or less clearly the bearing of some if not all the studies of the school upon their prosperity in after life. Within and without the school there is talk of the need of arithmetic, say, for success in every form of business. Particular persons in the community are pointed out as instances illustrating the results either of the mastery of numbers or the lack thereof. Scarcely any child can avoid hearing it said, or reading, that the persons who are required to work at hard labor are those who did not apply themselves in the schools as they should; while the people occupying the better positions, and who have been more successful in the battles of life, are those who were diligent in the school, and so mastered the studies which have proven to be of inestimable service to them. Thus even though a boy in the seventh grade, say, does not see just how his arithmetic relates to the business he wants to engage in, nevertheless he cannot remain indifferent to the representations constantly made by the people about him. As he comes to feel the serious character of life, and realizes that he must ultimately pull his own oar, his resistance to study in the school is gradually broken down, and some inititative at least in attacking the tasks of the classroom is acquired.

Of course, this principle as indicated will not operate in the case of pupils who react upon an environment in which

the dynamic life outside of the school presses in constantly upon their attention, and tends strongly to attract them to itself. In a situation of this sort, the school will seem to be a thing apart from the realities about the pupil. It will not be apparent that what is gained within its walls will be of help in the world of action. If there should be a direct relation between them it would be so subtle and remote that the pupil could not trace it. By the time he reaches the eighth grade or the high school, the call of the practical life will be compelling, and he will be in a more or less indocile attitude toward much, if not everything, that goes on in the school. The moment the pressure to hold him in school weakens, he will gravitate toward the shop or the store or the counting-room.

On the other hand, the boy whose attention is filled with college life, which allures him, and who is made to realize that in order to participate therein he must master the work of the school, will assume a docile attitude as a pupil, and will actually tend to seek aid wherever he can find it. It is otherwise, of course, with the recalcitrant boy whose parents have a college career in view for him, and who urge him against his own desires to prepare for it. This latter boy will not be in a docile attitude in the school any more than the boy who is dominated by the practical life, and he will need to be driven to his work constantly, for he cannot take his parents' point of view, and so he cannot evaluate things as they do. The principle holds without qualification for the individual even in college. If he is there as a result of his own inclination, he will be teachable; he will sit at the feet of his instructors, since it may be by assimilating their wisdom his own course in life will be made easier, or at least he may be able to attain his ends more effectively. But the boy who remains in college because his parents compel him to attend, or who is eager simply for the social advantages of student life, will be in a hostile attitude toward all that is done in the classroom,

and he will seize every opportunity to devote himself exclusively to the interests which appeal to him more strongly.

We may now glance finally at a special docile attitude which has been several times mentioned in other connections, the attitude of imitation.[1] In previous discussion attention was called to the child's tendency to imitate those who perform activities in which he is interested; and it is apparent that this is one way in which he may appropriate the experiences of his elders and superiors. It is evident that the process of imitation is not essentially different in outcome, but only in method, from other forms of the learning process which have been described. A child of three is constantly imitating the more elementary, concrete activities going on about him, — those relating to the playing of simple games, the execution of bodily acts, and the like; the more complex activities of his elders and superiors do not become focal in his attention at all. And as in his learning in general, so in imitation, when he catches the suggestion of the fundamental process in any act, he passes over from the assimilative into the executive attitude in respect to it, and he continues to practice it until he discovers in one way or another that it would be to his advantage to modify his execution in the attempt to make it more like the model in detail. Throughout the entire developmental history of any act learned imitatively, in the restricted sense in which we are using the term, the individual makes progress by alternative execution and assimilation.

Imitation as a method of learning

All observers of children are agreed that whatever other tendencies they manifest, they are at least much given to dramatizing, from the second year, at any rate, on to adolescence, and in a continually decreasing degree up until maturity is reached.[2] In their

The dramatic tendency

[1] This subject is mentioned briefly here under the head of Docility; but a separate chapter is devoted to it later, chap. xvii.

[2] This tendency is discussed in detail in chap. xvii.

dramatic activities they are in effect in the learning attitude, though without any intention on their own part to assimilate the attitudes of their models. It is within reason to say that the supreme passion in every normal child's life is to impersonate not only the people about him, but also the animals, and even the plants and the inanimate objects, though the latter do not incite the dramatic attitudes to any appreciable extent, since they are relatively static. It is the active objects about him, those that react in a variety of apparent ways upon their environments, that stimulate the child to repeat their reactions. Now, in reproducing the adjustments of any object, the individual undoubtedly acquires an understanding of the object which he could not acquire in any other way. All the complex sensations experienced in striving to assume the attitudes of an animal or another personality in reacting in its peculiar fashion upon a given situation really constitute the basis for understanding the thing, for appreciating its individuality. Then when the child carries out the programme of an assumed personality, he of course gains something from his experience; he perfects himself in the performance of the acts which are peculiar to his model; and thus he learns. Though his dramatizations are always in make-believe, still one may see that they exert an influence upon his habitual attitudes. Take, for instance, K.'s dramatic representation of her teacher in some of the typical schoolroom situations. K. endeavors to portray Miss E.'s voice, facial and bodily attitudes, and the like, as they have impressed her; and it can be seen that by frequent repetition these attitudes tend to replace to some extent those characteristic of her own personality. Happily, the teacher is not the only one she personates, so that no single personality can establish itself in K.'s attention and motor tendencies to the exclusion of other personalities. It is probable, however, that this is just what would happen if K. should be shut up with this one teacher, all other personalities being excluded. The princi-

ple involved has universal application, with the result that the individual in the early years probably learns more through his dramatizations than through any other of his docile attitudes.

Résumé

The young child is always in a docile attitude toward a person who can teach him how to play games, or perform any task in which he is interested at the time. Boys who are good in athletic activities, or who are skillful on the simpler musical instruments, or who can lead the group in its marauding expeditions, can easily gather about themselves bands of followers who will be in the assimilative attitude. Children are usually in a docile attitude toward elders and protectors whenever they go among strangers, though they may not be at all compliant in their own homes.

Children strenuously resist the imposition on them of the "manners," the "polite" attitudes generally observed by the adults about them. In general, the child does not assume a docile attitude toward most of the conventions of society, until as his range of social contact increases he sees that the observance of these conventions is essential to his well-being. If he cannot see this, he usually remains in a resistant attitude toward many of the customs of the community in which he lives.

The adult may not spontaneously observe the conventions in effect about him; but he generally feels the necessity of bringing himself into outward conformity to the practices of society, no matter what his subjective attitude may be. But with the child, expression and emotion are more likely to be congruent, so that he acts as he feels, which is unfavorable to the recognition of conventions. But at adolescence the individual begins to hedge himself in with the customs observed by his community.

When a convention is forced on a child he becomes adept in finding excuses for not adopting it. At the same time he tries to influence every one around him against it, by ridiculing it and all who observe it; or if he does partially conform, he easily shows that it goes against the grain. In the case of certain conventions pertaining to conduct at table, in the drawing-room, and the like, the boy especially must be exhorted to their observance day after day and year after year until adolescence is reached.

When the child does adopt a convention, he then makes an effort to impose it on his associates. In all his representations concerning it, he seeks to magnify its worth, to the end that his practice may become universal. Children always attempt to practice on inferiors what they learn from superiors; toward the latter they will assume docile attitudes, but with the former they will play the rôle of a bully.

Normally the child does not assume a docile attitude toward his elders, whose experience has been vastly greater than his own in respect to social adjustments. Whenever he does play the part of a learner, it is only to catch a suggestion, which he will proceed to work out in his own way, without being willing to learn all his superior might teach him. The child's attitude is always a dynamic and executive rather than an assimilative one.

The child usually resists instruction relating to his health, ethical action, and the like. He generally attempts to impose on his elders his own views in relation to these matters. This difference in point of view, due to difference in experience and capacity to foresee the more or less remote as well as the immediate consequences of actions, gives rise to a great amount of conflict between the child and the adult.

In the school the child is docile toward those who can instruct him in constructive activities and the like, but he does not before adolescence readily assume a learning attitude toward the accumulated culture of the race. He will become receptive toward the work of the school only when it is made very evident that it will be of service to him in his practical, concrete life. Otherwise he will learn only to avoid penalties or to secure extraneous rewards.

With development the individual as a rule discovers sooner or later that his welfare depends upon his mastering the subjects taught in the schools, and then his resistant attitude will give way before an assimilative one. However, if the work of the school, or the college either, be wholly of a formal character, remote from the practical life, the individual may never assume a receptive attitude toward it, but he will escape from it as soon as pressure from without is removed.

Imitation is perhaps the most important method of learning in childhood. The dramatic tendency is especially prominent in the early years, and by means of it the individual masters his social environment more effectively than he could in any other way.

CHAPTER VII

RESENTMENT

IMMEDIATELY upon his entrance into this world, the infant reveals his discomfort in characteristic vocal and bodily demonstrations. But one who will observe his reactions and listen to his cry will find no evidence that he is in an angry attitude toward any one or anything. He does not even protest against the treatment he receives; he is not at all hostile or resistant toward his environment. His vocal expression is at first entirely undifferentiated; but the people responsible for his care interpret it to denote that he is in distress, and is pleading for their assistance and protection. The writer has, on a number of occasions, noted the response of adults to the cry of new-born babes, and they have uniformly regarded it as a petition, or perhaps a prayer; in no instance has any one felt that it indicated opposition to the persons or things about him. Physicians generally are quite unmoved by the squall of the new-born, for they consider it to be altogether reflex, and so not a genuine manifestation of the babe's actual evaluation of his novel experiences. But it is otherwise with the mother and the bystanders, who read meaning into the squall, whether or not it is really mechanical.

The infant's attitude is a non-resistant one

For several weeks the babe's expressions, as they are interpreted by his caretakers, reveal no hostile attitudes of any kind; he simply appeals for help when he is cold or hungry or otherwise ill at ease. During these weeks he shows no sign of anger in the true sense, and no tendency to resent anything that is done to him, though when his experiences are disagreeable he will manifest his disquietude, and beg for relief. But in these expressions he does not seek really to coerce the *alter* or to resist him; he endeavors

simply, as a matter of instinct, to awaken his feeling of compassion or sympathy or pity. The babe in these earliest efforts at social adjustment shows no disposition to "stand up for his rights," or to strive to gain what he desires by arousing fear in those who minister to him. He takes no offense at what people do in his presence, though if they cause him pain he attempts in his naïve manner to awaken their tender feelings so that they will desist, and even make reparation for the injury they have done him. Of course, this all happens without conscious appreciation on his part, but it is none the less meaningful and effective on this account. His attitude of supplication secures for him, as a rule, the willing services of all who are affected by his expressions.

The earliest expression of anger

When now does he begin to manifest a different attitude, one in which he reveals opposition to the persons or the things with which he has relations? Most observers of children have noticed that the cry of anger becomes differentiated to some extent as early as the twelfth week, and it is probable the child assumes by this time the attitudes denoted by this expression. There is no mistaking the expression; when the child is angry he reveals it not only in a peculiar dynamic quality of voice, but manifestations similar in meaning occur in his arms, legs, and body as a whole. Usually the angry infant "straightens his body out rigidly," [1] though he may never do this on any other occasion. He impresses the observer as taking a resistant or defiant attitude toward those who have in some way opposed him, and so have aroused his hostility. The strangely irritating and compelling character of his vocal tim-

[1] "In the fourth month," says Tanner, "anger is certainly shown, the face and head become red, and the cry shows irritation. . . . Anger at this early age is simply the instinctive rebelling against pain." — *Op. cit.* p. 216.

Perez says of the young that "when about two months old, they begin to push away objects that they do not like, and have real fits of passion, frowning, growing red in the face, trembling all over, and sometimes shedding tears." — *Op. cit.* p. 66.

bre when he is in this frame of mind is potent in producing reactions in those who hear it, either to serve him in the way he wishes, or to administer pain in the attempt to prevent him from further demonstrations of this kind. Under modern social conditions, these manifestations of anger seem usually to render the *alter* subservient; it is probable that adults generally aim to avoid those situations which arouse anger in young children, because of the disturbing effects of their expressions upon the sensibilities of those who must listen to them.

The attitude of anger seems to be earliest aroused as a result of the child's experiences with his food.[1] He will sometimes fly into a rage when his bottle is taken from him before he is satisfied, or when the parent is slow in giving it to him after he has caught a glance of it. In such instances the anger ceases with very young children the moment the food is secured, though this is not always the case with older children, as we shall see presently. As the child develops, the occasions for outbursts of anger seem normally to increase constantly up to the time at least when he gains such facility in locomotion that he can go about freely, and himself secure the objects he desires, or perform the deeds in which he is interested.

The typical year-old child is angry much of the time

Unless suppressed by the hostile reactions of his parents or governess, the typical year-old child is in a tantrum a considerable part of his waking hours, since his desires far outrun his ability to secure their gratification. In a way, as the range of his interests broaden, the worse his lot becomes, for his capacity to obtain what he wishes does not develop as rapidly as his needs and desires. However, if he be successful in

[1] "The causes or conditions of anger or impatient crying on the part of the infant may be divided into four classes: (1) when the gratification of an instinct, like suckling, is thwarted; (2) when a pleasant sense-experience is interrupted; (3) when the child's purposes are crossed; (4) when an injury is associated in the child's mind with the idea of its cause."—Major, *The First Steps in Mental Growth*, p. 118.

getting *instanter* whatever he wishes, because of the attentiveness of his elders or the limited range of his desires, he will not be apt to assume the attitude of anger frequently. But according to the observations of the writer, it is practically out of the question to satisfy the demands of the unrestrained child of a year old. Even in homes where there is a retinue of anxious attendants, there is still likely to be much display of anger on the part of the children, for it seems impossible for any one to gratify their wishes in every detail. The pretext need be very slight indeed in order to throw the unafraid child into a state of fury. And the greater the efforts that are made by those who serve him to comply with his requests, the more irritated and hostile he often seems to become. The child who, from the standpoint of the adult, ought to be very contented and grateful because of the pains that have been taken to provide him with "everything that he could desire," is the very one who may be in a temper much of the time. Here again is an irreconcilable conflict between the views which the child and the adult take of the opportunities and privileges enjoyed by the former.

The development of resentment as a personal emotion

It may appear commonplace to say that the angry attitude is assumed by the young child only when he cannot realize his desires, or when he suffers pain caused, as he thinks, by some person or object. With the young child inanimate as well as animate objects, if they seem to deprive him of any pleasure, will arouse anger. A child of two years will become furious at his blocks, say, if they will not stay on top of one another when he is trying to build with them, and he may try to punish them in one way or another. So he will become angry at his bottle if it rolls away from him when he is feeding, at his top if it will not spin for him, at his cap if he cannot untie it after making vigorous attempts, and so on *ad libitum*. But while inanimate objects do thus awaken the feeling of resentment in the child, nevertheless this attitude is in the

majority of instances assumed toward people only. Even when some experience with an inanimate object seems to be the immediate cause of provocation, yet the child, as early as his third year at any rate, begins to connect persons in some way with most of the things that displease him. Thus when his toy gun will not work as he desires, or when it breaks while he is using it, his angry attitudes are apt to be assumed not only toward the thing itself, but also toward the one who bought it for him. When he is crawling into his chair and it tumbles over, he may flare up at the one whom he easily concludes should have held it for him. From the second or third year forward anger becomes ever more largely a strictly personal emotion, in the sense that people are involved when the individual is in a resentful mood, even though the direct inciting cause may be some inanimate thing.

Methods of expressing rage

When the infant is in the attitude of rage, he expresses his emotion through violent vocal, facial, and bodily actions, although these are never coördinated upon the object inciting his passion. His arms and legs are kept tense and in constant motion; but it is worth while repeating that all this action is really purposeless, in the sense that it is not directed upon the person or thing responsible for the subject's angry state. However, by the time he is a year old he has become exceedingly purposeful and dynamic in his reactions upon the objects that incite his rage. If his blocks offend him he will probably throw them violently on the floor, or downstairs, or out of the window; or he may throw other blocks at the offending ones, or stamp on them with his foot, or pound them with a stick, and so on. When he cannot untie his cap as readily as he wishes, he may viciously jerk at the annoying ribbons; or he may grasp the cap, and do his utmost to tear it off his head, while he utters terrifying cries and shrieks. If he succeeds in tearing his cap loose, he will be likely to throw it on the floor, and strike at it with anything he can

get. When he is made angry by persons he will strike, kick, scratch, and bite them, throw objects at them, and always scream at them. The attitude is clearly one in which the enraged individual seeks to destroy, or at least to injure physically, the thing that has irritated him or deprived him of some coveted object. Biting is the mode of attack most frequently employed in the early months; but this is replaced in time by kicking, scratching, or striking with the fists, or with some implement, as a club.

With boys from four onward, striking with the fists is the favorite method of reacting upon an offender, unless it be "calling names." At all periods, after the age of four or thereabouts, an angry individual will readily endeavor to punish his tormentor or antagonist by ascribing to him some mean and humiliating quality. Boys especially have a large vocabulary of debasing terms, relating to a great variety of brutes and debased human beings, as fools, liars, etc., also dirt, filth, and every object that is despised. Upon very slight provocation, these terms will be called into requisition; and from seven years on to adolescence "calling names" often takes the place of the more violent physical modes of expression which are earlier employed. As development proceeds the range of debasing epithets increases, and the vocabulary is enriched with terms which suggest ever more largely moral reproach. But when adolescence is well under way, the inhibitions developed during this period begin to play down on these as on other forms of anti-social expression.

One of the most conspicuous methods of expressing intense anger throughout the entire period of infancy and childhood is resistant or aggressive crying. The child will throw himself on the floor, and "yell" and scream "at the top of his voice"; and often when children start crying in this way, unless some forceful corrective stimulus is immediately applied to them, they are likely to go in deeper and deeper, until they reach the point where their energies

commence to wane, when they begin to "calm down." One may observe children, both boys and girls, from the second year on to nine or ten, break into crying over some annoyance, when their passion increases constantly until their whole nervous system seems involved, and they will keep on until they are literally worn out. Sometimes the anger is so severe, and continues for so long a time, that it appears to consume all the available energy in the nervous system, and the child falls asleep as his rage declines.

This mode of expressing anger is much more marked in some individuals than in others. When once H. and B. get started this way, it seems quite impossible to get anything else into their consciousness which will turn their energy into other expressive channels. But I. and K. are more easily controlled, so that often rage can be stopped by suggestion before it gains possession of the nervous system. In the case of G. it is utterly impossible to shake him out of his passion, once he gets started; it must run its course to the point of exhaustion. If G. be whipped while angry his fury is only increased; and the same is true if he be doused with cold water. It appears that the moment his nervous system opens in the direction of the anger reaction, it must remain open until the fund of energy is expended; but this is not true of all children. It may be noted that in G.'s furious actions there often does not seem to be any intention aggressively to subdue or humiliate the social environment. He is simply lost in his passion. At such times he will accept no attention from any one, no matter who it may be, or how kindly are the expressions. The more he is stimulated, whether by friend or enemy, the more intense does his rage become. At such times he would, if he could, destroy all who demand any sort of reaction from him. At the same time he will grow more furious if those who were involved in his misfortunes go away and leave him to himself. In some subtle way he feels he would like to have all who have caused him trouble to remain in his presence and suffer in silence.

Strangely enough, the child in his first reaction of anger ordinarily resents an offer of sympathy from the one who has injured him.

Another interesting and very common mode of expressing anger in childhood is to assume a sullen or pouting attitude toward the persons who have been the cause of the ill feeling. When a child begins to sulk, all expression except that of resistance disappears from his countenance and his body. If you approach him while he is in this mood he will react by pulling himself away from you, or perhaps by striking you. If you speak to him he will either ignore you, or call to you to "leave him alone"; and his intonations will be such as are designed to make you afraid to disturb him further. He may try to "get even" with his persecutor (as he thinks) by saying in a peculiar muffled tone, "I don't like you." It is a strange tone, the expression of a very complex state of feeling. The child evidently seeks to humble his real or imagined tormentor by withdrawing his affection from him. Instinctively the injured individual seems to feel that it will cause a person pain to tell him you dislike him. As a matter of fact, the mother is often sensibly affected when her child declares he does not like her. When S. continues in this attitude for some time, and the persons attacked appear unaffected by his demonstrations, he is likely to come around and strike at them, showing that what he desires is to produce some kind of a response in them. He cannot endure indifference to his expressions. It is worth while to inquire why a child should proceed in this manner when he must realize more or less clearly that he is at the mercy of those who are larger and more powerful than he. As a matter of fact, he takes great chances in doing this, for usually he suffers some pain when he does it. But nevertheless it is his impulse to "get back" at any one who has annoyed him. Here is seen an illustration of an instinct tending to manifest itself, even when it alienates the possessor from his environment.

One of the most interesting and significant characteristics of the attitude of anger is the variability of the situations in which it is aroused. A child anywhere from three to twelve years of age may have two experiences which are outwardly apparently the same; and yet in one case he may be overcome with rage, while in the other anger may not appear at all. To illustrate by two instances typical of numberless occurrences in the daily lives of children: M. at the age of four while at play with his father fell on the floor as a result of the father's roughness, and received a rather serious bump; but he laughed it off, and went on cheerfully with the play. He did not show a trace even of anger over the mishap. On another occasion shortly afterward he was tripped up in the spirit of play by his older brother, and he received a bump again, but a considerably slighter one than on the former occasion. Nevertheless, he flew into a rage now, and screamed and "carried on" at a great rate. His angry demonstrations tended to excite all the persons within hearing or seeing distance, and they proposed to chastise the offender.

Situations which stimulate the attitude of anger

Now, it seemed evident that in the latter case the child was not angry because of the injuries he actually suffered, but because of being "insulted" or "wronged" or "humiliated" or, perhaps, dominated by one who was older and stronger than himself. The anger was almost wholly aroused in view of the encroachments of the *alter* upon the liberties of the self. These encroachments might not at the moment have been of any special consequence; the child could have got along with the aggressor for the day all right; but if let pass they might have become intolerable. An individual will gladly endure considerable actual pain if it be administered while he is in the playful attitude, and by one who he feels is not seeking to subjugate him, or display authority over him. It is domination by another rather than actual punishment which the child resents. Indeed, he seems thoroughly to enjoy a certain amount of rough treatment from

a well-meaning playfellow, especially one who is stronger than he is himself. But let the playful attitude be abandoned, let genuine rivalry arise, and instantly the child will evaluate his experience with his associates in a very different manner from what he did at the outset. So that in reality, as already intimated, anger in children from about the third year on has reference more and more largely to the *intentions* of the persons or things who are the objects of the anger than to the actual results of any experience. Of course, when the child is in an angry mood, all stimulation, whether or not proceeding from a playful and kindly attitude on the part of his fellows, will often only aggravate his ill temper.

The function of anger in social relations

It is significant that while children in the beginning manifest anger toward any one who appears to be instrumental in depriving them of some desired pleasure, still they early learn not to "flare up" at those who will react upon them to their disadvantage. As an instance, K., a boy of nine, frequently and upon slight provocation becomes extremely angry at his mother and his brothers and sisters, but he never manifests anger in the presence of his father, no matter what the latter may do to him. The father has punished him sharply on several occasions, when he allowed himslf to be overcome with anger, and this has served completely to inhibit his passion. Anger as expressed in most situations where something of value is to be gained thereby appears to be largely reflex; but it certainly can be brought under a certain amount of control from the second year on. Fear of ill consequences of any sort from its expression will restrain it. J., a boy of eight, who is exceedingly irascible in his relations with his brothers, holds himself in check completely when he goes into a company of boys who ridicule him and plague him if he shows anger when he cannot have his way regardless of the desires of others. One may see boys endure without the slightest display of ill-feeling quite rough treatment on the play-

ground from the group which will discipline any hot-tempered member, when with similar treatment from those whom they can bully or terrorize, or whom they can obtain aid from others in subduing, they will be filled with rage.

Speaking generally, the individual learns quite early to express his anger toward those only who can be affected by it to his gain in some way. He does not ordinarily become enraged at his baby sister for her transgressions, since he can easily protect himself against her while keeping his temper. She does not need to be impressed by his angry demeanor, as does his brother who is nearer his own age and capacity. The dynamic, violent display of resentment tends to exert a restraining influence upon aggressors who are about on a par as to strength with the one who becomes angry. But it may, on the other hand, be a source of pleasure to those who have nothing to fear from the angry one; and a choleric individual is likely to be annoyed by older boys for the sake merely of witnessing his discomfiture. S. at seven often seems to get genuine pleasure from "teasing" his sister, who is not strong enough to do him injury, but who becomes very demonstrative in her anger. S. does not attempt to resent her attacks upon him; but at the same time he temporarily ceases his hectoring when K. becomes furious, and this is, of course, her method of driving off her persecutor. Further, her angry expressions summon her parents, or any older person who may be in the vicinity, and they put a stop to S.'s tormenting. Thus K. discovers that her demonstrations are of service, and she comes to rely upon them, so that she now tends to give vent to them often even on the peaceful approach of S.

There is involved here a principle of considerable importance. In a group of children who are much together, all being of about the same age and experience, and having similar needs, there are liable to develop between certain members relations that incite irritability. One child may begin to aggress upon another whom he feels he can either

bully or tantalize, and this is apt to render the victim particularly irascible, so that the mere presence of the aggressor arouses anger. Thus it is that children in the same family often quarrel a great deal, unless pains are taken to keep each one occupied in some agreeable way. The more such children are kept together, without outside associates, and the more limited the goods which they all desire, the more certain they are to develop irritability with all its manifold expressions.

Conditions which favor the development of irritability among the members of a group

This almost ceaseless conflict is apt to persist, until the range of activity of the contestants begins to extend well out beyond the home circle into the larger world of diversified interests and social relations. This means, of course, that as the young find opportunity without the home for the utilization of their energies and the gratification of their desires, they cease to aggress upon one another to such a degree as they invariably do when they are constantly in one another's way, as it were. As their lives expand, they come gradually to regard each other in a different light from what they did in the beginning. In due course they change from mutual aggressors and competitors to partners and associates, who have interesting experiences in the outside world which they are willing to share with one another. The writer has kept close account of a family of seven children who in their development followed this course from the point of constant conflict to good-fellowship and coöperation, as soon as each came to play an independent rôle in the larger world outside the home.

This same principle may be observed in instances where children are separated for brief periods, as for a summer, say. V. at seven spent one summer on a farm away from his brothers, sisters, and associates. On his return he was looked upon with peculiar interest by those who had not had his opportunities. All felt he had learned many things which they did not know, and was master of arts which

they would like to acquire. In a very subtle but very real way they did him homage for a time. When he told of his exploits they would listen and applaud, when previously they would often ridicule him, and endeavor to minimize his achievements in the eyes of his friends. Now they would follow him around while he showed them the tricks he had acquired during his absence; and whatever he desired he secured without resistance. He was, in short, a hero for a day, a leader, while his quondam antagonists were ready followers. But in the course of time, when he had imparted all his novel experiences, when he had nothing new to offer, gradually the old tensions were reëstablished, and he was resisted in his aggressions as he had been formerly. His brother and his playfellows came to regard him again as a competitor, who must be kept on his own ground. This instance is typical in general character and outcome of a number that occurred in the lives of this particular group of children, between the ages of three and fifteen.

The child in all his expressions is more or less explosive. He tends to react at once upon any stimulus; and when the stimulus ceases, the attitude incited by it is apt to be rapidly merged into a different one. Attitudes awakened in any special situation are not likely to endure long when the situation changes. Thus the child is a quite faithful reflex of his immediate environment; his reactions are usually in response to the forces playing upon him at any moment. But as development proceeds, this sensitiveness to direct stimulation gradually declines for a large part of the environment, and often for the whole of it during long periods at a time. As a rule, development leads to the establishment of more or less permanent tendencies along various lines, with the result that the individual endeavors so to shape the social environment that it may remain in the form most appropriate to his preferred attitudes. This principle, as it relates to the particular attitude in question, means that the child

Development of the attitude of hatred

as he develops becomes normally less and less explosive in his anger, but more and more enduring in his hostile reactions. In the early years he cannot really hold a "grudge" against any one, though he may say he does not like such and such a person. But, after all, his antipathy is based upon a definite concrete experience, and it does not usually outlast the memory of the experience. One may often hear a child declare with great vigor that he "hates" a playfellow; but in a few minutes he may be enjoying the most friendly sort of relations with him.

It is different, however, with the adolescent. He cannot forget so easily. G. was a typically explosive boy at six, frequently in conflict with his associates, but never retaining for long any ill feeling against any one who would play with him. Mean tricks in his companions would soon be buried in oblivion, and all would be smooth sailing again until a new instance of aggression arose. His daily life was made up of coöperative activities, freely interspersed with conflicts; but the latter were rarely carried over night. It is very different with him at fifteen, however. Now his hostile attitudes toward individuals are in a number of cases long enduring; they extend over weeks and months even. He will "have nothing to do" with the objects of his aversion; and he not only seeks to avoid them, but he endeavors to belittle them to his associates, He really hates them. He is hostile to them, not on account of one deed alone, but on account of their whole personality. This concrete case is probably typical in main features of the developmental history of all individuals in respect to the matter in question.

The child of five does not, as we have noticed, long harbor the wrongs inflicted on him. In a flash almost his anger may be turned to friendly feeling. So he does not dwell upon modes of "getting even" with an adversary. He does normally strive to "even up" trespassing, but he does so at the instant of the injury done him. He does not

nurse his troubles with his associates, and some time in the future endeavor to "pay up old scores." But the adolescent, who does not forget so easily, is apt to keep on the *qui vive* for an opportunity to revenge himself upon his antagonist. He cannot feel at ease until his enemy has been made to suffer for his aggression or his opposition. Of course, there is great individual variation here; but it is probable that all persons tend to pursue the course indicated. Revenge is properly an attitude which can be taken only when the child reaches the point where he does not readily forget experiences wherein others act contrary to his interests. When he commences to ponder over his conflicts so that he feels opposition deeply, then he begins to plan to humiliate or subjugate his rivals, and he may keep his vengeful schemes in his mind for months or years, so that he may perfect them. G. in his seventeenth year was frequently overheard to say in substance of a rival in high-school activities, "I will strike even with him yet." The offenses of which this rival was guilty had been committed many months before, but G. had not overlooked them, and it was evident that he was biding his time until he could avenge himself. Outwardly G. seemed to be more or less friendly toward his enemy, but matters could not be adjusted within until the latter was paid in full in his own coin. G. is probably not an exceptional individual in respect to this trait, though the particular instance in question seemed to be somewhat extreme.

The development of the attitude of indignation

We have seen that the young child is made angry only when he is thwarted in the attainment of very definite concrete ends, or when he is deprived of any pleasure which he is experiencing at the moment. A stimulus must be of a quite direct physical character, in order to awaken a response in the individual. A child of six, say, would not on his own initiative react in a hostile way upon one who was guilty of an offense against the ethical or moral code in force in the community, or even

against most conventionalities in respect to cleanliness and the like. He may resent the attempts of a playfellow to take an unfair advantage in his games; but he is not likely to show any deep feeling in regard to the matter unless his own interests are imperiled, when he will, if he dares, react directly and positively upon the offender. But if we will run forward ten years in the individual's development, we will find him at times assuming an attitude of hostility toward others when his own welfare is not at least immediately involved. That is to say, he will resent liberties being taken by others with the more prominent ethical and moral rules, and also with many of the conventionalities of social intercourse. As he continues to develop, if he does so normally, he will grow more and more pronounced in his hostile reactions upon an offender against the principles of fair play, as he interprets them, and against the fundamental standards of conduct as he himself appreciates them. In his reaction he is not as explosive and dynamic as he was when he was a boy of six, partly because the offenses which arouse the indignant attitude are not as direct and simple and physical as those which incite mere anger. The latter attitude is elemental; it is assumed automatically when the interests of the self are interfered with; but it is different with the attitude of indignation, which is extremely complicated, and so not as directly aroused and expressed as anger. In wrath the individual becomes aggressive; he would destroy the object which threatens his well-being. But later on when he is indignant he may keep himself wholly under restraint, revealing his resentment only in his withholding customary friendly expressions from an offender.

Appearance of the attitude of jealousy

This may be the best place in which to mention a complex attitude of the general nature of resentment, in the sense that it is taken in view of what the self regards as the encroachments of the *alter*. Children as early as the fifteenth month,[1] at any rate, show

[1] Perez (*op. cit.* p. 71) does not mention jealousy as occurring before the

marked displeasure when other children are favored in their presence above themselves, or even receive attention or gifts from those upon whom they are dependent for their own favors. A child who has satisfied himself with his bottle, say, will be likely to show resentment if what he leaves is offered to a brother or sister. It is a common device of mothers to induce their children to eat against their desires by threatening to give their food to others. A child will often consume his food himself, even though he does not enjoy it, rather than see another gain pleasure from it. It is in a way a dog-in-the-manger attitude, which is strikingly revealed when the child protests against a rival receiving any kindness from a parent or guardian or playfellow. Here is a common nursery experience: a child of fifteen months is playing happily with his blocks on the floor. Near by is his mother and his brother, still a baby, and the former takes the latter on her knee. The chances are that the child on the floor will leave his playthings, and, if he can, drive off the brother, and climb into the mother's lap himself. In many of his relations with his associates, the child shows in various ways that he does not enjoy their success and good fortune, even though these do not directly deprive him of any pleasure. Of course, this attitude must be largely instinctive at the outset; it is assumed long before the child's own experience could have developed it in him.

One may often see a child in his second year, say, destroy an object he does not want rather than have it appropriated by a rival. But he is not likely to do this on all occasions. For example, V. at two years would often manifest intense jealousy toward his sister at one moment, while the next moment he might share his toys and sweets with her. Sympathy and fellow-feeling thus alternate with extreme selfishness and jealousy in the young child. In the

fifteenth month. Darwin speaks of the jealous expression of his son at fifteen and a half months. But Sikorsky (*Die Seele des Kindes*, p. 56) and others have observed the expression of jealousy during the first year of life.

beginning, as we have seen, he is likely to assume the jealous atttitude toward a person who in his presence is favored in any of the ways in which he is himself interested, as when his mother caresses another, when a companion is given a toy which he could use himself, and so on. But as he develops, this attitude is assumed only toward those with whom he is frequently in competition and in conflict. By the fifth year children (boys especially) are very keen in noting any favors extended to their competitors, and jealousy is ever ready to be expressed upon the slightest provocation. Parents must exercise great care in selecting presents, say, for their children from the third or fourth year on through adolescence, lest those given to one child may appear to another to be more desirable than those he himself received. Parents are often compelled, in order to preserve the peace in their households, to secure precisely the same articles for all their children, whether or not they are appropriate in every instance. The jealous child cannot be "reasoned with"; his passion renders him immune to argument which seeks to justify apparent discrimination when he thinks his rival may be the gainer thereby.

Situations which incite the attitude of jealousy

The jealous attitude is manifested most strikingly in children from the fifth year on in situations where competitors seek to exalt themselves in the eyes of those who have favors to distribute, or where the deeds and virtues of rivals are extolled by outsiders. Let K. begin to describe in the family circle some courageous or faithful deed he has performed, or painful experience he has endured, or duties he has discharged, and C., his natural rival, will at once seek to minimize the importance of the particular act for which praise is sought, so that K. may not be too highly thought of. Then C. will endeavor to attract attention to his own worth by describing more meritorious deeds which he has himself performed. He cannot easily submit to the attempts of his rival to gain the admiration of the company before whom he wishes to

exhibit himself. But it is different in situations where K. and C. are united in their interests, in opposition to other groups. Then C. is glad to reënforce the testimony of K. regarding his valorous deeds; and the principle works in just the same way when C. is seeking for favor, and K. is the jealous witness or the faithful comrade.

It must be impressed that jealousy is an attitude assumed only by individuals in those situations in which they are competing for the same favors. Two children may be intensely jealous in their own homes; but they may abandon this attitude absolutely when they go into the world and compete as a unit with other groups. Normally, the jealousies between members of a family tend to disappear in the measure that their interests broaden, and they form new connections in the world. That is to say, according as persons cease to be keen rivals, they tend either to become indifferent to the successes of one another, or they may even rejoice in the good fortune of each other, and lose no opportunity to celebrate one another's virtues and merits. This latter stage is not reached, however, until rivalry, and so conflict, wholly ceases, and the contestants come to appreciate that their interests are mutual, and each can help himself best by extolling the other. This is frequently seen in adult life, especially in political and professional partnerships; men who to-day may be reviling one another, seeking to injure each other's reputation, may praise one another to-morrow, when they discover that they can promote their own interests best by coöperation instead of by jealous competition.

It is a principle of wide application that if the *alter* does not bear such close relations to the self that he can aid or injure it in some way through his expressions, then he may do what he pleases, and the self will remain neutral toward him. To illustrate, X., who is a member of my profession and of my "class," builds a showy and obtrusive house in a town quite remote from me, and while I know him I am

not in the least jealous of him, as I should be if he built this house right next to mine where the neighbors would see both, and ignore mine because his would dominate the view. Again, students in one college or in a university are quite indifferent to the exemplary habits of particular students in other colleges, while they may be exceedingly jealous of students of similar habits in their own college, because they have vital relations with them, and they feel their own status is determined by the activities of these classmates. A professor may not be at all affected by the sensational methods of a minister in his community who wishes to attract attention to himself; but he may react violently toward a fellow professor who adopts the same methods as the minister. An individual, that is to say, is keenly sensitive to the behavior of members of his special group, since his own standing depends upon the conduct of his associates. It is a commonplace that great authors, artists, musicians, and the like, who appeal to the same audience, are often intensely jealous of one another. Sometimes this jealousy amounts to permanent enmity among distinguished persons, though, on the whole, it is probable that those who become prominent in any line of activity find much of common interest to encourage friendships which will hold in check the tendencies toward jealous resentment.

Then, it must not be forgotten that rivals in art or literature or science are often of distinct help to one another, so that appreciation and gratitude aid in counteracting the feelings of jealous hostility. Not infrequently one may see a person belittling a rival in one situation, but praising him sincerely in another. In the one case the individual is sensitive to the competition between himself and his rival for the approbation of a certain social group, while in the other case he is sensitive to the genuine worth of the rival without regard to his influence upon the status of the self. In all social groups there is this constant play of complex emotions between individuals who have interests in common

in any respect. The impulses relating to self-conservation may lead one to take at different times all the social attitudes described in foregoing chapters, and in reaction upon the same individual's expressions; though normally a certain characteristic attitude comes to be assumed toward a given individual, since his activities will ordinarily be predominantly favorable or hostile to the interests of the self.

Conditions favoring the development of jealousy

As a general principle, the smaller the group of individuals who are in competition with one another, and the narrower the range of their interests, the more intense will be the jealous attitudes developed. As the group increases in membership, and their interests and activities become more varied, particular competitors normally come to occupy a less and less important place in any one individual's attention. It is as though the energy which in a restricted situation finds an outlet in one channel, perhaps, is discharged through various channels when the circle of persons and the range of interests to be reacted upon are enlarged. It is probable that most strictly social attitudes become less pronounced, though they are likely to become more habitual, according as the occasions which call them forth are multiplied. This principle has an interesting application to the child when he enters school. His new personal environment makes such demands upon his attention and energy, in order that he may take the first steps in adjustment thereto, that the jealous attitudes are not aroused for some time, though they are liable to appear as he begins to feel at home in the new group. The beginner is usually in the learning or adaptive attitude; he is never at the outset resentful toward individuals in the group who may secure greater attention than himself from the teacher or his associates. The novice in school seeks, above everything else, to win the favor of those who for any reason are prominent in the group. He does not normally oppose his personality to that of any one who stands well with the crowd, or who has the support of tradition in his particular expressions.

This tendency is seen at every stage in the individual's scholastic career when he joins new groups, as when he enters the high school or the college. As a member of the eighth grade of the elementary school, he may be in an attitude of resentment toward many of the expressions of his classmates and those in lower classes; but when he becomes a freshman in the high school he will be likely to exhibit no trace of resentment for a time, but only docility, in which he will gladly tolerate whatever may happen, only so that he is not singled out for special attention. "Keep quiet, mind your business, and learn from your elders," is the maxim he tends to follow implicitly; and if he does not do it, his superiors, the upper-classmen, who by tradition are entitled to privileges and respect not accorded to beginners, will speedily reduce him to a submissive, assimilative attitude. All this may be seen at its best among such groups as one finds in the public schools of England, — Eton, Rugby, and the like. Here the novice is kept for quite a long period in a very humble frame of mind. He does not feel sufficiently independent to take attitudes of resentment toward any one in the school, even one of his own class, much less members of the higher classes, or the masters. If he feels jealousy he conceals it effectively; but so much is demanded of him by way of positive adjustment that he has little opportunity for jealous resentment. Jealousy flourishes best among those whose energies are not largely employed in positive activities. One may see an illustration of this principle if he will contrast a very dynamic, progressive community with an idle one; jealousy will be much more prominent in the latter than in the former.

Schoolroom jealousies

As the child grows to feel at ease in adjustment to the situations presented in the school, he commences to assume attitudes of disapproval as well as approval of the expressions of his associates, and even of the teacher. In due course, often by the fourth year in school,

possibly earlier, he begins to manifest some feeling of jealousy toward those of his group who attain greater prominence in the work of the school than he does himself. However, according to the observations of the present writer, this feeling is not a dominant one at any period in the elementary school, except in the case of particular children who are displeased at any distinction in recitations or in conduct attained by their classmates. In the fourth grade of a certain elementary school of a Western city, there are three backward boys who have been in this grade for two years, though they are bright enough in the things of the street. They are in a more or less hostile attitude toward all that goes on in the schoolroom, probably because they cannot succeed in it themselves, and so they would like to escape from it or destroy it. Now, they make it unpleasant, so far as they are able, for all the boys in the grade who apply themselves to their tasks, and get "good marks." On the playground these dullards "pick on" the "bright" boys; and in the school they ridicule them by "snickering" at them, or "making faces" at them, and so on, with the result that they deter some boys from doing their best in the schoolroom. These same three ill-adjusted boys will make fun of their mates who come to the school "dressed up in fine togs." They are themselves attired in plain clothes suited to the rough experiences of the street, and they resent the adoption of different styles by any of their associates. Further, they show jealous feeling toward boys who come from "better" homes than their own, or from more "aristocratic" parts of the city.

But aside from these three cases, there are no other pupils in this grade who show toward their classmates jealous feelings of any consequence. There are bright and dull boys in the school who are the best of companions outside the schoolroom. T. receives higher marks than S. in all his studies, but there is no jealousy felt by the latter for the former. They play together much of the time, and the ex-

periences of the school have no deterring influence upon their friendship. S. does not yet evaluate very highly the sort of distinction which comes from standing high in the roll of honor of the school, and he is apparently incapable of feeling resentment toward one who receives praises and prizes for this sort of excellence. The rewards of classroom distinction are not striking enough to impress the average pupil with their importance, so he does not begrudge them to the one who can get them. Even in the eighth grade, so far as the writer has been able to detect, there is very little jealousy aroused among the pupils by those who stand at the head of their classes, though there is more of it here than in the fourth grade. According as the honors of the schoolroom attain greater importance in the eyes of pupils, just in this measure will feelings of resentment be active toward the pupils who carry them off.

One may observe the jealous attitude expressing itself sometimes among eighth-grade pupils in the effort of the less fortunate ones to explain the excellence of their brighter associates. The fourth-grader normally does not attempt to explain the superiority of his classmates; he does not seem to appreciate the necessity of doing so. But the older pupils begin to feel the social value of intellectual distinction, and they strive more or less unconsciously to belittle the achievements of those who head the lists. This becomes more marked the higher one goes in the schools. It is probably the keenest of all in the college, where the more industrious and docile members of the group are often ridiculed and caricatured in the attempt of the crowd to suppress them and keep them from manifesting their obnoxious qualities. Of course, if a brilliant and well-behaved student is also excellent in general college activities, he will be likely to win the admiration and applause of the multitude; but it is not because of his ethical and intellectual superiority, but rather because of his good-fellowship that he avoids the condemnation of his jealous associates.

It will not be necessary here to do more than to mention the chief incitement to jealousy after the beginning of the adolescent upheaval, and lasting well on into middle life. The testimony of autobiographers, as well as the observations of psychologists, indicate that rivalry for sex favors gives rise to most of the jealous attitudes of the adolescent up until full maturity is reached. Often, no doubt, it is the main cause of the jealousies of some people throughout their lives; but normally other and more general interests become stronger and more vital as maturity is approached. But from the age of fifteen or sixteen on to twenty-five or beyond the sex needs and interests are supreme, and the individual is sensitive to sex relations above all others. No pain is so keen at this time as that which arises from slight or indifference from persons of the opposite sex, and no experience will stir an individual so deeply as that which threatens to deprive him of the exclusive possession of the affections of the one he loves. In any mixed group during adolescence the response to sex relations is exceedingly unstable; every member of the group is hypersensitive to expression of sex of every sort, and it is inevitable that resentment, in the form of jealousy mainly, should be exceedingly active. Innumerable "confessions" of both men and women show that in many cases there was experienced the most acute jealousy much of the time during early adolescence. These individuals were keyed up to such a pitch of sex tension that they were in a more or less constant state of illusion regarding the relations to their rivals of those whom they loved. Now, if ever, the terms used by the poets and others to describe jealousy are applicable, — a "monster with green eyes," "agony unmixed," "dyspepsia of the mind," "Ugliest fiend of Hell," and so on *ad infinitum*. Sex need, and so sex sensitiveness, are more profound than all things else in the lives of many persons; indeed, the instinct of self-preservation is often not as intense as the desires arising out of sex, which is shown

Jealousy during the adolescent period

in the frequency with which people disappointed in love take their lives.

The infant's attitude is at first a non-resistant one; but by the twelfth week the cry of anger begins to be clearly differentiated from his other vocalizations. As he develops, the purpose in his expressions of anger seems to be to render the *alter* subservient. The angry attitude is assumed by the infant only when he fails to realize his desires, or when he suffers pain caused by some object, as he thinks. The year-old child is in the angry attitude a large part of his waking hours, since his desires are far greater than is his ability to secure gratification of them by any means. The young child will, when thwarted in his undertakings, become angry at inanimate as well as animate objects; but from the third year on this attitude is confined ever more strictly to personal situations.

Résumé

The infant expresses his rage through violent vocal and bodily expressions. These are at first aimless; but by the end of the first year they are always directed upon the offending object. Resistant or aggressive crying is a prominent form of expressing anger throughout infancy and childhood. Often when children get started in this way, they continue in spite of all corrective measures until their available energy is consumed. Boys when they are angry easily kick the offender, bite and strike him, etc. Another common method of expressing anger in childhood is sulking, by which the injured one hopes to "get even" with his adversary, as he imagines.

From about the third year on the *intention* behind rather than the *actual results* of any action determines what attitude the individual will assume toward the actor. At adolescence motive is almost the sole thing considered in deciding how any given action should be treated.

Children in the same family usually quarrel a great deal because of conflict in endeavoring to gratify their needs and desires. As they find increasing opportunities to utilize their energies in diversified activities, and as they assume broader social relations, they normally cease to aggress upon one another. The narrower the range of social contact and interest the greater the likelihood of conflict.

The child's reactions are ordinarily in harmony with the stimulus acting at any moment. With development, however, immediate responsiveness gradually declines, and more or less permanent and unyielding attitudes are established. Thus the attitude of hatred is not assumed until comparatively late in the maturing process. Again, not until the child reaches the point where disagreeable experiences are not readily forgotten can he assume a revengeful attitude.

The attitude of indignation appears only when the individual has begun to appreciate ethical and moral standards, when he will to some extent at least resent offenses against them. This attitude is extremely

complex, and not as directly aroused and expressed as anger. While in anger the individual seeks to injure or destroy the irritating object, in indignation he will withhold from the offender friendly expressions, as a typical mode of revealing his displeasure.

Children very early manifest the jealous attitude. One may sometimes see a child in his second year destroy an object he does not wish rather than have it appropriated by a rival. Among competitors jealousy is extremely active from the third or fourth year onward. According as individuals cease to be rivals they either grow indifferent to the favors shown one another, or they come to rejoice in each other's successes.

As a rule, the smaller the range of interests of a group, and the fewer the number who are in competition, the more intense will the expression of jealousy become. A novice in any group is usually in an assimilative, rarely in a resentful, attitude toward his new associates; but as he grows to feel at ease in the group he is likely to develop jealousies. During adolescence and afterward, jealous attitudes arise mainly out of competition for sex recognition and appreciation.

CHAPTER VIII

AGGRESSION

In the discussion of resentment there has been a constant temptation to consider in connection with it the attitude of aggression, which is usually associated with it, and is often the cause of it. In any social situation in which the one attitude is assumed by an individual or a group, the other attitude will as a rule be assumed by another individual or group. But with a view to securing clearness in presentation, an effort was made in the preceding chapter to consider the attitudes as if they were largely independent of one another, though in the present chapter their interdependence will be more fully recognized, for otherwise it would not be possible to convey a truthful impression of the nature of the aggressive attitude, and the circumstances under which it either prospers or is speedily abandoned.

The combative attitude

In the discussion of anger, reference was made to the tendency of children vigorously to resist the encroachments of their associates upon what they regard as their rightful possessions; but a particular aspect of the general principle involved must be looked into in greater detail here. We have seen that when the child's pleasures are interfered with in any way; when he is deprived of an object he enjoys, or when he is prevented from obtaining whatever he wishes, it is his impulse to punish the one who has been the cause of his unhappiness, or to remove him from his path so that he can continue in the pursuit of the things he desires. In the early years his mode of procedure in a situation of this sort is very direct, concrete, even physical. He endeavors to inflict pain of a definite, tangible character upon his antagonist or his tormentor. This means that whenever resisted in his undertakings, or made angry

for any cause, he easily assumes the belligerent attitude unless he is restrained for prudential reasons. This combative impulse expends itself on the victim in a variety of forms, some of which have already been mentioned, as striking, biting, kicking, scratching, pinching, throwing to the ground, using weapons of one sort or another, as clubs, stones, knives, etc. But whatever may be the mode of attack, the aim is always the same in intent; the combatant seeks to penalize or humiliate his adversary, or to make him serve him, or stand out of his course. If the present wrong cannot be satisfactorily righted, then the injured person endeavors to give the aggressor "such a lesson" that the latter will never again be the cause of trouble to the former.

Before the completion of the first year children normally exhibit in a marked degree the combative impulse in its simple, direct form. On even slight pretext they will often fly into a rage, and then they will make use of all the means at their command to punish the object of their wrath. At this age there is little if any inhibition of the impulse, except in the face of violent reaction from the environment. Given any serious irritation, and in the majority of cases the combative attitude will be assumed in a more or less reflex way. This sort of thing continues without material modification for three or four years; and with boys at least, who are much together and who are candidates for the same favors, quarreling is a rather common event of their daily lives until the advent of the adolescent period at any rate. It is probable that the combative impulse is never aroused in the earliest years except upon some form of provocation. Either the individual resents the aggressive acts of others, or he strives to break down opposition to his own aggression, which he regards as justifiable of course, if such a term can be applied to the child's non-reflective action. From his standpoint it is right to obtain if he can whatever he wants, and if he is able to secure it by force he will not hesitate

so to do. But the three-year-old child does not normally find pleasure in aggression for its own sake; he does not fight with his playfellows for the pleasure of combat itself, nor does he seem ordinarily to inflict pain merely that he may enjoy another's sufferings.

It is true that some cases of this sort have been reported by Burk and others, wherein children of three years, and even younger, have apparently taken delight in bullying comrades by pinching them, striking them, and in other ways. But it is possible that in all such cases there has really been some inciting cause, though perhaps not at the moment. K. at the age of three has been observed on a number of occasions to strike S. when he was not molesting her at the moment; but the fact is that he enjoys teasing her, and she has contracted a rather settled feeling that she must resist him, and even administer penalties to him whenever the situation encourages such procedure. She has learned that the chances are that he will annoy her in some manner whenever he finds her off guard; and it is easy for her to misinterpret his intentions. Even in his moments of good behavior, he may be planning an attack; he has frequently done so in the past. And the proper thing now, the protective thing, is to drive him off before he has an opportunity to do any harm. Thus K. is usually on the defensive when in the presence of S., for he is likely at any moment to disturb her playthings, or to tickle her, or to molest her in one way or another. In her own consciousness, then, she is dealing with an adversary when S. is within aggressing distance, though an outsider would not appreciate this. She does not assume this belligerent attitude toward her doll, or any younger child, who does not interfere with her possessions or block her enterprises; which indicates that her combative attitudes seem always to be assumed for cause.

It should be noted in this connection that children in their second year occasionally show a disposition to redress a wrong done them even after the pain or inconvenience

caused by the experience has disappeared. When V. would annoy his brother of the age of two, the latter would sometime later take advantage of an opportunity to "square matters" with the former, even though the father had disciplined V. for his misbehavior, and there was no likelihood of his occasioning S. any annoyance again for a considerable period at least. But S. always seemed to feel more comfortable when he himself made V. suffer more or less, or humiliated him. The expressions on S.'s features on such occasions and his vocal demonstrations and bodily attitudes all appeared to say, "Now, take that; it is a good thing for you; I will give you as good as you gave." With children from three onward there seems to be an almost irresistible desire to "get even" with one of their "set" who has intentionally occasioned them discomfort in any way, physical or otherwise. Sometimes they will appear to be satisfied if they can participate in, or at least look on at, the discipline which the parent or teacher or older playmate administers to an offender; but according to the writer's observations children who have been aggressed upon regain their emotional equilibrium the more readily if they can themselves carry out the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. They want on their own account to apply the Mosaic law fully. Methods of retaliation

Again, they seem normally not to be content with anything short of the infliction of a very concrete penalty upon their assailant; and even when forbidden by parent or teacher so to do, they will nevertheless endeavor stealthily to "even up" matters with their rivals. Boys from seven to twelve or so will retain a grudge for weeks, or even months, and will watch their opportunity to retaliate. At the age of three a child does not appear to remember for any considerable period a particular injury done by an associate; but it is altogether different with children of twelve or older. B. has stored in his memory several special injuries he has received from two bullies in his school, and he is longing for a

chance to pay them back in their own coin. Now at twelve he does not easily forget intended aggressions of every sort as he did when he was six, or younger. And what really rankles in his consciousness is the humiliation resulting from his experience with the bullies. He cannot adjust himself to the fact that he was dominated by another with whom he is supposed to be on a par in matters of courage, strength, and combative skill. This sense of being conquered by his equal far outlasts the remembrance of the actual physical pain he suffered, which in no case was really serious. As we follow the individual on toward maturity we find that he remembers his "slights" and "insults" for an increasingly longer period, and he cannot be content until he has been the cause of making his assailant suffer in the measure and in the manner that he was made to suffer himself.

Retaliation upon the basis of injury done to one's "reputation"

As maturity is approached there may be observed a growing tendency for the individual to be satisfied with other than physical punishment of his adversaries. Also, he is not so eager as he once was to cause his enemies to suffer by his own hand. The boy of six wishes to have wrongs righted immediately, directly, and physically. To injure his assailant in his reputation does not impress the six-year-old as of much importance; retribution is not impressive enough to discharge his feeling of anger. However, by the age of ten there is beginning to appear some slight appreciation of the meaning and value of "reputation," and the pain endured when the individual suffers injury thereto. V. does not like to have any one say of him that he cannot catch a baseball; for he is a member of a boy's team, and he would much dislike to lose membership therein through incompetency. It really irritates him when he is likened to a "mush-fingers." He resents being called a coward, for he belongs to a boy's football team, and he enjoys the distinction of playing without regard to the consequences to him-

self physically. Again, he will attack a boy who charges him with being a "tattle-tale," for this latter sort of person is despised and plagued by the group of which V. is a member. But he does not at this age seem to mind being called a poor writer or a bad speller or an awkward dancer or an unsocial or untidy individual. He desires, above all else in his social adjustments, to stand well with the boys with whom he is in competitive as well as coöperative relations. At the same time he does not appear to be eager to stand well with the minister or the teacher (except in respect to simple personal relations), or with the girls among his associates.

By the age of fifteen, some of the social relations which were not felt at all at ten begin to occupy the boy's attention, though none of the old relations completely lose their importance for him. As development proceeds these newer and more subtle relations grow constantly more prominent, until by the time maturity is reached the individual normally is anxious about his reputation in the matter of intellectual competency, truthfulness, honesty, decency, morality, and the like. He will then most vigorously resent any reflection upon his character in respect to these traits. Of course, the ideals of the particular groups of which he is an active member will determine in what special qualities he will wish to rank highest in the eyes of his associates, and whether he will be indifferent respecting certain matters to which the world in general attaches much significance. To illustrate, in college communities it is regarded as a mark of distinction to cheat in examination; and in such places a student will not resent being accused of dishonesty. Often he feels pride in attaining distinction in a rather skillful and delicate enterprise which he thinks the student body as a whole would like to excel in. Again, in certain colleges it is considered to be a sign of loyalty and good-fellowship for one student to lie to the authorities in shielding a fellow student under suspicion, and no person

in such a community will feel injury done to his reputation if he is charged with lying of this sort, though he would be likely to do violence to one who would accuse him of being a liar in reference to other matters which his "set" generally condemns. In many college communities a man will not feel hurt at all, but rather pleased, if he be called "fast," whereas he will make a supreme effort to resent the charge when he gets out in the world into business or into a profession where dissoluteness is looked upon with disfavor. Illustrations of the general principle might be cited almost *ad infinitum*.

Early methods of preserving group stability

It was said some paragraphs back that the child of four will endeavor to redress a wrong, directly and with his own hand, by visiting physical punishment upon an aggressor. He does not normally feel that his troubles can be properly adjudicated when he submits his case to a disinterested outsider who is responsible for determining what penalty is due, and how it shall be administered. He will dispose of his case in this way only when his assailant is much older and stronger than he, so that by his own unaided efforts he could not possibly redress the wrong done him. In such a situation he will describe his painful experience to his father or teacher or big brother, and strive to incite him against his tormentor. But to do this with boys of his own age who may have aggressed upon him does not appeal to him strongly, if he be a typical boy; though girls assume this attitude much more readily. But it seems to the boy to show weakness and cowardice, which his crowd has taught him are not to be tolerated. So he goes on in his development, feeling that he must personally and directly resent all injuries done by one "of his own age and size" until he is well past the pubertal epoch. Even high-school boys usually prefer to settle their difficulties among themselves more or less directly. The sentiment of the group at this time is that if one member is insulted by another, the

former must whip the latter. Under normal conditions the group will endeavor to bring the two combatants together under conditions so that the "best man may win." "A clear space and hands off" is a group law when a fight is on.

Allowing for exceptions, there is not a strong tendency for the group as such to adjust difficulties between its members, — to measure out justice. For children of this age, justice is still mainly physical; the one who can win out in a battle is in the right. However, there is an exception to this principle in cases where the assailant is manifestly very much stronger than the one he attacks; the group sense of fair play requires that a boy "take some one of his size." Sometimes the group will designate one of its more capable members to engage the assailant in combat, thus aiming to restore the group equipoise, which must always remain unstable so long as a case of pronounced aggression of some member has not been forcibly resisted, for in this manner only can it be ascertained whether or not he is really a superior person physically. However, once it is determined what the relative pugilistic merits of all the members of a group are, then the group tends to acquire stability, for a time at least, each member playing the part which his quality, physical mainly at this stage, entitles him to. But there is always more or less tension in any plastic, developing group, since the relative abilities of the various members is constantly changing; and the "boss" of the "gang" to-day may be dethroned to-morrow by some rival, who has in the mean time been gaining strength and courage. Study any group of boys from eight to fifteen years of age for a period of three or four years, and you will note first what may appear to be group stability, each member contentedly playing the part for which his capacities fit him; but as time goes on you will observe a shifting of the players, especially among those in places of leadership, or contestants therefor. It is probably rare that a leader of

any considerable group holds his position against all comers (and there are always aspirants for his place) continuously throughout the period of the teens.

Genesis of the judicial attitude

In the process of development, usually before the high-school period is fully completed, there appears a tendency for the individual to refer his conflicts with his associates to the group for adjustment. In its origin this is doubtless due to the effort of the group to discover a method other than direct physical contest of righting difficulties among its members. In their games, for example, they find it necessary for the welfare of all early to have arguments adjudicated through an umpire. Then the practice of relying upon the verdict of a supposedly impartial judge in the adjustment of conflicts is passed on to children from their elders, and they tend through imitation to adopt it even before they are really ready for it. But the imitation of outward form tends to develop inner disposition, — in this case to restrain the impulse to right apparent wrongs directly and instantly. Boys of ten do not easily recognize the authority of an umpire in any of their games, but they do so with considerably better success than boys of five. The latter are very slow to adopt from any one views not in accord with their own when the matters in dispute are of much moment. Even the verdict of the father in contests between children of five or so is not accepted without violent protest by the one against whom it is rendered, provided the latter is given freedom to express himself without fear of chastisement. It is, no doubt, true that at any period of development the individual finds it difficult to recognize the rightfulness of a verdict which operates against his own interests; nevertheless, by the time he reaches the university period, say, he has gained such inhibition upon his impulses that he can accede without serious outward protest to the decision of the umpire or the judge in his contests or his disputes.

A study of the life in Eton, as a typical public school of

England, or of an institution like Boy City at Winona Lake, Indiana, or of any of the numerous self-governing clubs existing about us, will convince any one that it is possible for boys (and girls too, of course) from fourteen on to adapt themselves to the group, instead of the individual, method of adjusting conflicts. In Eton one may see in operation a complex system of rules relating to daily conduct administered entirely by the boys. It is true that final control of the school lies with the head master; but his authority is rarely exercised. The school is in effect governed by a senate chosen from the Upper Form, or older boys, who have attained the highest rank in the school. This method of government has done away with the lawless, chaotic, primitive conditions which Arnold found in the public schools when he took charge of Rugby. There was incessant fighting in the schools under the old régime; it was then regarded as a dishonor for a boy to refuse to wage his own battles against his aggressors. But now it is, as a rule, considered to be a dishonor for a boy to disturb the peace of the community by engaging in a brawl. He is early made to feel that he must submit his case to the body appointed for the purpose of causing justice to prevail among all the members of the group.

Illustrations of the judicial attitude in typical self-governing groups

The George Junior Republic in New York affords a good illustration of the fact that boys from fifteen on can in large part restrain the original tendency to redress wrongs directly and personally. This group of boys, incapable of conducting themselves aright in their home communities, and sent to the Republic as juvenile incorrigibles, have, under the leadership of a director, organized a society in which all difficulties and disputes among members are settled through representatives of the group, or courts, established for the purpose. Without here indorsing or criticising the principle upon which the Republic is based, we may state the fact that in the Republic most boys soon come to regard it as more honorable to inhibit their fighting impulses when they are

wronged than to give way to them, and to lay their case before the court for adjudication. Needless to say, perhaps, the penetration of this court is not very keen, judged from the adult standpoint; it cannot analyze motives in a subtle way; its judgments are based on evident and concrete principles of justice; but it is significant that such modes of settlement can prevail at all among boys of this age. We shall look into the matter in greater detail when we come to the educational aspects of group relations and activities.

The sanguinary tendencies of boys

We must now glance at certain differences between boys and girls in the expression of the combative impulse. The former are, in the early years at any rate, normally sanguinary in their tendencies. When they have differences among themselves, as we have seen, they can be adjusted as a rule only by physical contest. The boy's fists especially, but also his feet and even his teeth, are called into service in his encounters with his fellows. It is instructive to listen to boys under ten or twelve years of age declaring what they intend to do to some obnoxious rival. According to their representations, they are about to knock off his head, or punch out his eyes or stomach or liver or some other vital member, or they will break his neck or back or nose, or crack his skull, or pound his face to a jelly, and so on *ad nauseam*. The talk of even "well-brought-up" boys, living with peaceful, socially inclined people, whose attitude toward their neighbors is always kindly, is replete with these sanguinary terms. They suggest strongly those remote epochs when a man's life was full of struggle with his enemies, animal and human. The passion for bloody encounter must have had its development in those ancient times; for practically everything in modern life is antagonistic to such savage conflict, actually or in representation, and all social forces are pitted against it. This fierce, inhuman talk of boys from five or six onward is to a constantly increasing extent only a sort of *reverberation* from earlier tragic events in human life. Observe them when they are apparently most eager for

the blood of some victim, and you will see that they are really not possessed of murderous feelings at all. They may, indeed, be in a quite harmless frame of mind. But the simulation and the expression of cruelty and bloodthirstiness come easy to them. They find a remarkable pleasure in reassuring themselves and attempting to convince others that they can, and probably will, do frightful damage to any objectionable person or annoying rival who may chance across their field of vision.

Boys delight to play the rôle of great fighters. They readily assume the bodily attitudes, facial expressions, and viciferousness of fierce warriors. Two brothers somewhere near the same age will be threatening each other a good part of the time, when they are not engaged in some interesting enterprise in which they need to coöperate. Most parents must plan to keep their young boys agreeably occupied constantly, or conflicts will arise. Boys from three to eight or ten incline rather toward than away from personal encounters when they are in familiar environments, free from harm of any sort, and unoccupied. However, when they go out into the world, where they meet strangers, they then instinctively stand together, and forget their rivalries. But when the environment does not compel them to combine their forces, they tend to become rivals, and conflicts cannot be avoided.

Boys of seven and upwards show their combative disposition in their "arguing" and debating as well as in their fistic encounters. It is a popular saying that boys "squabble" a great deal. If one boy in a group makes a statement, his adversary may at once deny it, and try to ridicule him, and so to lessen his achievements in the eyes of the group. For a period in the life of boys who are much together, they are likely to be incessantly in this argumentative attitude; one will not accept without contest anything another may say. In his actual speech, and also in his tone of voice, facial expression, and so on, he will endeavor to humiliate his rival, and show

These tendencies are revealed in verbal as well as in fistic encounters

him up to the group, or to any individual who may be near, as a person of poor judgment, and not to be relied upon. The mere presence of a rival will often incite a boy to verbal as well as fistic contest. Even when rivals gather at a "party," with the conscious purpose of being "good" and well-behaved, the chances are that there will be a contest of muscle and fists in short order, unless their energies are at once guided into some coöperative activity. When trouble does arise and an older person attempts to locate the blame, every boy will declare that he was "picked on" or "bullied," and he will not be "bossed" by any one. It is not necessary that a boy should be struck in order to be "picked on"; if an enemy "makes faces" at him, or "calls him names," or "snickers" at him, and so on *ad libitum*, it is enough to release his muscles, which are always loaded and ready to be discharged on a moment's notice. And his overactive imagination, evidently surcharged with the combative experiences of his ancestors, easily discovers evil intentions in the actions of his rivals, though they may be really inoffensive, and have no relation to the combatant at all.

Girls are less sanguinary.

Girls are less sanguinary than boys in their combative attitudes. From three on to adolescence they play together without friction much better than boys, though they have conflicts when they compete for objects in which they are all interested. But they are much less inclined than boys to do their rivals bodily harm. A girl is apt to chastise one who has injured her by scolding her or threatening to reveal her errors to some person who will punish her for her misdeeds; or she will "call her names," or cast aspersions upon her looks, or dress, or conduct, or family, or anything that belongs to her, or that she is a part of; or, and this is her most effective method of redress, she will not play with her assailant, or visit her, or walk on the same side of the street with her. But, as intimated above, girls harmonize with one another more easily than boys do; they feel the need of coöperating and aiding each other

much more than their brothers do. They are more *social* in the sense in which this term is generally understood; though it is probable that this distinction cannot be made as between mature men and women. Indeed, it is possible that as development proceeds boys acquire social tendencies more rapidly than girls, and when maturity is reached they may be somewhat ahead in social ability. Women seem to be more individualistic than men; they cannot take their "turn," for instance, as well as their brothers, nor can they follow the rules of the social game as successfully. A woman does not appear to be greatly different in social tendency and ability from what she was when she was a girl; but it is altogether different with the man. If he attains complete development he passes from what might be called the combative stage to the coöperative one, when he can work in peace and effectiveness with his fellows, and suppress the original disposition to "pick on" his associates, or do his rivals physical injury, though he may often feel perfectly at ease in his conscience when he can drive a professional or commercial competitor to the wall.

The attitude of the sexes toward each other

In what has been said thus far regarding the combative impulse, no reference has been made to the attitudes of the sexes in their relations with one another. We have seen that boys normally resent the aggression of other boys, and girls of other girls; but do boys resent the aggression of girls, and *vice versa?* In the early years there are apparently no sex distinctions in the give-and-take of daily life. A boy of two, if made angry by the aggressions of his sister, will attack her as readily as he will attack his brother under similar circumstances. So a girl of two will contest with her brothers as readily as with her sisters. This attitude continues for several years, until the boy is led to inhibit his impulse to injure his sister, because of what is constantly said to him, — that he ought not to "fight girls," and the like. S. at six will "tease" the girls he plays with, but he would not now en-

gage with them in physical combat as he will readily do with some of his boy playmates. His inhibition has come mainly, no doubt, from the attitude of the people about him toward this sort of thing, rather than from any natural feeling of restraint with the opposite sex. As yet, girls are to him not essentially different from boys. His interest in them has reference to the service they can render him in his undertakings, or to their disposition to make depredations upon his possessions. He likes those girls who know how to "do things"; who are not too "tender," or too easily offended; who can play well, and can show him how to do tricks which he wants to learn, or who will share their possessions with him. Such girls he will treat kindly and serve, just as he will boys under similar circumstances.

But he is constantly in an antagonistic attitude toward those girls who will not gladly play with him or let him play with them; or who try to appropriate his playground or any of his belongings. In his talk about boys and girls he shows that he is measuring them all by the same general standards of competency in games and plays, in which he is interested, and of a willingness to share their goods, and not to trespass upon his domain. But it should be noted that even if the boy of six recognizes no sex distinctions in his attitudes of resentment or aggression, nevertheless he will be in conflict with boys much more frequently than girls, because of the less dynamic tendencies of the latter. Girls, even at the age of six, are not as aggressive as boys, and so they do not awaken resentful and combative impulses so frequently. As development proceeds this distinction becomes ever more marked, until when the adolescent period is reached there is comparatively little cause for conflict between the sexes, for one reason because girls as a rule restrain their aggressive impulses almost completely, and they are not active even in resentment as boys are, though when offended they probably "hold a grudge" longer.

Up to the adolescent period the boy will make no greater effort to stand well with girls than with boys. In his dress, his manners, his conduct, he shows that he is quite indifferent to them; and the same is true of the girls in their attitudes toward boys. It often happens that the boy would rather not be well thought of by girls, since he would then lose caste with his boy associates, who desire in him somewhat different qualities from what his girl associates do. The boy who is much with girls from eight or nine on through early adolescence must be more restrained in his actions, less muscular and belligerent than when he is with boys of the same age. The latter, to employ their own expressions, "have no use" for a "girl's fellow"; so that once a youth gets a reputation of being a "sissy-boy" he must encounter the ridicule of the group, and he may even have to endure physical hardships.

The influence of adolescent development upon these attitudes

The group, without deliberate intent of course, aims to keep the boy *masculine* in his thought, feeling, and action; and masculinity always implies a certain degree of roughness, of pugnacity, of indifference to any sort of physical trial. As for the girl, her group normally disciplines her rigorously, too, if she exhibits in any marked way the qualities which make her particularly attractive to boys, especially lack of reserve in conduct. From ten or eleven on she must not take part freely in boy's games, and must not gain the distinction of being "sporty," else she will be shunned and shamed by her set. There is thus a period when there appears to be antipathy between the sexes; but it is usually in response to group demands rather than individual inclination. The individual boy may not feel hostile toward girls and their ways and institutions; but his group as such *simulates* hostility at any rate, and he would rather accept the view of the group than to be ridiculed or treated as an outcast.

Finally, in the course of development a point is reached

where attraction replaces antagonism or indifference between the sexes. Now they make a special effort to be agreeable to one another in appearance and in manner, characteristics which were without much weight as a rule before adolescence. At this point antagonism ceases, and gravitation overcomes repulsion. The relation is not a coöperative one precisely; it is more largely personal. The sexes often do not combine for mutual aid in the attainment of ulterior ends; mere contact and personal possession are the objects of their association. Consequently, when interest in such association is lost, the sexes again lapse into indifference, or even into active hostility toward each other. It is probable that the bonds between the sexes are on the whole less enduring than between the members themselves of either sex, in which there is a consciousness of sympathy and material gain in coöperative activity.

Before closing this chapter mention should be made of one of the milder forms of the aggressive tendency, which is of chief consequence to parents and teachers in modern society. By the completion of the second year, at any rate, children manifest a strong tendency to "tease." They early discover what will produce assumed or real expressions of anger or annoyance in parents or brothers and sisters, and then they find delight in stimulating these expressions. The "mischievous" child takes the mother's thimble when she is sewing, and the mother makes believe to pursue the little thief, or she calls after him in a voice of simulated anger or threatening. The child is pleased at these manifestations, so long as he knows that he will not be harmed; and he will try to have them repeated over and over again. He will run as though frightened, or as though he would deprive his mother permanently of her thimble. If she does not manifest any disturbance over his action he will soon cease his play. It is evident that he enjoys the experience of arousing make-believe expressions of wrath and escaping unharmed from the seemingly angry person.

Teasing

It is make-believe with the teaser now; but nevertheless, the essential trait in all teasing is illustrated in this example, the enjoyment of the violent but harmless reactions of a disconcerted individual.

With development the teasing activity becomes constantly more prominent, until it occupies the larger part of the child's life. Typical boys of four, and girls to a less extent, tease every one and everything from which they can get angry responses, in some cases simulated, in others real, provided they do not suffer any ill consequences from these demonstrations. If a boy finds that his father will react too vigorously to his teasing, he will pass him by for his mother or sister or pet dog or pony, or anything from which he can get a harmless reaction but of frightening aspect, viewed from without. In some instances the teaser will find pleasure in the mere annoyance which he can cause any living thing, even though he cannot secure marked responses therefrom. S. will tickle the ears of his sleeping dog for a quarter of an hour at a stretch, meanwhile greatly enjoying the abortive efforts of the creature to remove the irritating object. He will offer an ear of corn to his pony, and pull it away just as he attempts to seize it. He plays all sorts of practical jokes on his playmates, and on all the people in his home who are not inclined to get even with him speedily. He does not select as subjects for his experiments those who habitually play jokes on him; he makes use rather of those who are tolerant, or too busy to settle up with him, or too lethargic to pay him freely in his own coin. From four on through adolescence a boy's mind seems normally to function to a considerable extent for the purpose of enabling him to tease successfully.

Teasing by arousing fear

We may here take note of a mode of teasing which often affects the victim seriously, arousing fear in all sorts of ways. Children, girls as well as boys, secrete themselves and jump out at passers-by, shrieking, assuming terrible grimaces, bodily attitudes, and

so on. Again, they often threaten to do harm to some unfortunate object of their passion to torment, as breaking his neck, or throwing him in the lake, or cutting off his ears or his hair, locking him in a dark cellar, and the like. A favorite method among some boys of frightening timid children is to tell them horrible tales of burglars or ugly dogs or snakes or worms or ghosts or other dreadful creatures, that may devour them or sting or bite or burn or crush them to death. Two children are playing together a little way from the house. The older one, a boy, sees a colored man approaching along the walk. At once he says to his younger sister, "Here comes a kidnapper; he is going to carry you off." At this the sister runs screaming to the house, and the boy laughs heartily, until he discovers that the parents may "even up" matters with him. Again, this boy, when his sister cannot find her necklace which she prizes highly, tells her it has been carried off by a burglar, and she cannot find it again. Whatever the victim is most afraid of, that is what his tormentors are likely to make use of to annoy him. Groups of boys are quick to discover in what ways individuals among them are vulnerable, and the timid ones will have a hard time of it just as long as they continue to be sensitive and to react readily and violently.

A person who can be plagued about anything, it hardly matters what, will not be let alone by some members at least of his group. What the tormentor wants is reaction of even this peculiar type in his victim; if he cannot secure it he has no motive for continuing his teasing. He is probably not eager to cause pain for the sake of the pain merely; he does not think about this, and often he will desist from his teasing when he comes to realize that he is making his victim miserable. His interest in badgering is very objective and dramatic; it does not extend beyond the outward display of fear, anger, and the like. It must be repeated that when a boy irritates his sister or mother or his dog or his horse, he is without doubt unaware as a rule of the pain he creates;

his comprehension of the situation does not include anything beyond the immediate response of his victims to his stimulus. Possibly the sense of mastery of the things about him, the feeling of his being able to reduce them to subjection, plays a part in his enjoyment, but it is a minor and practically negligible factor.

Another favorite method of tantalizing is by "calling names." If a child has any peculiarity that his fellows can detect they will invent a derisive, annoying term that suggests it, but in exaggerated or ridiculous form, and then they will apply it to the victim for the purpose of irritating him. Every group of boys the writer knows has an extensive vocabulary of such terms; but street gangs are most proficient in this form of teasing. Here are some epithets of this sort which Burk collected from his correspondents: —

Teasing by calling names

A long and slender girl or boy is called "Broomstick Legs," "Long Legs," "Beanpole," "Gawky"; thin children are called "Skinny"; fleshy ones, "Fatty," "Hubity-hoy," "Big Lumix"; red-haired children, "Sorrel-top," "Red-headed Gingerbread," "Reddy," "Torchlight," "Headlight," and "Firehead"; freckled children, "Speckled Beauty"; a boy with disfigured mouth, "Catfish Mouth"; a boy with an extra joint in the thumb, "Crooked Thumb"; hunchbacks, "Crook"; a girl with peculiar eyes, "Queer Eyes," "Pig Eyes"; girls with dark complexions, "Gypsy," "Indian," "Nigger"; children wearing spectacles "Four Eyes," "Mamma's Old Man"; those who cry easily, "Cry Baby," "Hand Organ"; a boy always dodging, "Possum"; a boy from the country, "Sparrow," etc.

When the tension is very great between two individuals, they are apt to make use of terms reflecting on the intellectual, moral, and decent qualities of one another. "You're a liar" indicates that relations are strained to the breaking point; and also "You're a fool," or "idiot," or a "knave," or a "hog," etc., etc. In the earliest years children do not take these names as seriously as they do at a later period, after adolescence particularly, when they feel keenly the

humiliation of having the qualities of any of these objects ascribed to them. The farther development proceeds the greater shock is produced in one when he is said to be a "liar," say, and the more vigorously will he resent it. So with all "names" that suggest defects in morals or intellect or decent conduct. The writer has observed groups of boys of nine and ten years of age tossing "liar," "fool," "hog," back and forth without serious consequences; whereas with groups at any age after adolescence there would be certain to be desperate combat. Younger boys catch up these terms, realizing that they are derisive, but yet not appreciating fully their hideousness. This explains in part why boys call one another certain names freely, where men would not dare to apply them to each other except under great provocation.

Teasing by arousing shame

Allied to the method of tormenting by calling names is that of endeavoring to arouse shame. In older children, especially among girls, this is a source of great annoyance; but it is not employed so generally among boys. Girls pitch upon some unusual or unconventional characteristics of one of their number, and ring the changes on it. It may be freckles, or an ill-fitting dress, or even some family disadvantage, as when a girl's mother is a washerwoman, or the like. If the girl has ever been accused of telling tales or any meanness, the group is apt to make constant use of it to shame her. They will describe her mean trait to her face, and then irritate her with "Are n't you ashamed of yourself?" "You are n't fit to be with decent people," and so on.

Teasing among primitive children

In concluding this topic, mention may be made of the suggestive fact that bullying and teasing are even more common among the children of primitive than of civilized peoples. Speaking of the life of the Kaffir children, Kidd says in his "Savage Childhood":[1]—

> The system of fagging is well developed. The head-boy fags

[1] Pp. 196–198.

all the other boys and girls under him, and each one in turn fags a smaller one if he can. If the head-boy should happen to be absent for five minutes, the next big boy will promptly order all the others about; but he abandons his air of superiority as soon as the head-boy returns. The fag-master has a glorious time of it, for he lies down in the shade and makes all the other boys do his work for him, ordering them to fetch him food or drink as he may wish. If there should not be sufficient food, the big boy makes the little ones go and steal some. If the small boy should be found out, he gets the thrashing; if successful he gets but little of the stolen food, for the big boy takes the lion's share. It therefore seems a one-sided affair. But then the little boy looks forward to the day when he will be able to fag others, and so sees that the custom must be kept up. And, moreover, if the little boy were to get into a scrape with boys of a rival kraal, his master would take his part and fight for him. The small boy is thus "under the shadow," or protection, of the big one, and this is no small advantage. There is very little fagging amongst the girls, for it is said that, in the feminine nature of the Kaffirs, submission is somewhat rare. If boys try to fag girls against their wish, the girls are said to retaliate by spreading the most atrocious slander about the boys, who are somewhat sensitive in this direction.

There is endless teasing and petty bullying amongst the boys, as might be expected. Children of two or three years old are teased by bigger boys, who declare the mother of the child has been divorced and sent back to her father. The small child imagines it will never see its mother again, and is thus very terrified. Small boys are chaffed mercilessly by the big ones who have been circumcised. These older boys twit the little ones with being but babies or girls, and they have a special vocabulary of offensive names for the small boys, which cut them to the quick, and which leave a nasty and bitter taste in the mouth. A boy is a nonentity in the kraal until he is circumcised, and is therefore subject to a good deal of chaff, for even the girls throw his immaturity in his face.

When old women have no children, they have to go into the fields themselves and frighten away the birds while the crops are ripening. They complain very much of their loneliness. The boys wait till such an old woman goes to sleep in the pempe; then

they creep up quietly and steal her mealies, and as they are going off with their booty, make a noise to awaken her. The poor old creature has no defenders, and gets furiously angry with the young rascals, but this only makes them the more merry. Then the old woman has to go home crying; but no one seems to trouble much, for old women are of no importance in a kraal; they are "cast-off things." It is only fair to add that this treatment is rarely meted out to any old woman except when she makes herself obnoxious to the boys by her sharp tongue. A Kaffir boy knows well how to take his revenge in a telling way, and most sensible old women take good care to keep on good terms with the boys. A woman who was kindly and considerate would rarely be teased in this fashion, which is the boy's method of self-defense against the uncalled-for intrusions of old women.

Boys of the same age tease one another by well-known methods. One boy will say to another, "Your mother is an ugly old thing"; "Your people are all witches and wizards"; "Your mother is a crow," and so on. Strange to say, they do not tease one another much about their fathers, nor about their sisters. The great insults centre round speaking evil of the mother and grandmother. If a lad should wish to make the boys of another kraal angry, he will let the cattle he is herding graze on the gardens of the rival kraal, or on ground which the herds of the other kraal wish to keep for their own cattle. But a boy would not do this unless he were sure he could thrash the boys of the rival kraal. If a small boy should cry when he is bullied, he is made to herd the cattle all the day, while the bully lies down in the shade at his ease. Often a small child is spoiling for a fight; he goes up to another boy of about his own size and brandishes his stick over the other boy's head, whereupon the insulted boy would have to fight, or be considered a coward. But the surest way to make a boy fight is to take his stick from him, and hit him over the shoulders with it, saying, "You are an old woman; I hit you with your own stick, you tail of a dog." No boy can stand the insult of being hit with his own stick. Big boys often tease small ones by making them put their hands together, finger-tip to finger-tip. The big boy then hits the small one on the back of his hands, saying, "Point out to me the direction of the hut in which your mother's brother was born." This is felt to be a great insult.

The attitude of aggression assumed by one individual is usually the cause of the attitude of resentment in the one aggressed upon, so that the two attitudes are generally, though not always, found in the same social situation.

Résumé

Whenever the child is resisted in his undertakings so that he is made angry, he easily assumes a belligerent attitude, which expends itself on the victim by striking, kicking, biting, throwing to the ground, or the like. The combative impulse is very marked, in boys especially, until the adolescent period is well under way. The young child is combative as a rule only when he is thwarted in his enterprises, or when his possessions are interfered with by a rival. He does not fight for the mere pleasure of fighting, as he may do later on.

With children from the age of three onward, there appears to be an almost irresistible impulse to "get even" with one of their own "set" who has intentionally caused them either physical or mental pain. They insist upon inflicting direct, concrete pain upon their assailants, though they may be satisfied if they can witness this being done by parent, teacher, or older playmate. Children seem to believe (instinctively, of course) in the Mosaic law of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

A six-year-old child does not vigorously resent an injury to his "reputation," except in respect to some very concrete and simple social relations. Boys of ten desire a good reputation for courage and physical endurance and skill, and they will readily attack any one who endeavors to injure them with their fellows in these respects. After adolescence most conflicts arise out of intentional injury done to the "character" of individuals.

Before adolescence the child does not normally take kindly to submitting his conflicts for adjudication to a disinterested outsider ; he feels he must "get back" at his assailant directly. Pre-adolescent group sentiment favors the settlement of difficulties by contest of pugilistic skill. During adolescence there appears a disposition for the individual to refer his conflicts to the group for settlement; this is the beginning of the judicial attitude. Self-governing schools and clubs show that boys in their teens can restrain their original combative impulses, and endeavor to preserve group equipoise through judicial procedure.

Boys are sanguinary in their belligerent attitudes, whether expressed in actual fistic or only in verbal encounters. Girls are less sanguinary than boys. They endeavor to retaliate by injuring an adversary in her reputation, — social, intellectual, personal, or moral.

At first there are no distinctions in the attitudes assumed by an individual toward the opposite sex, as compared with those he assumes toward the members of his own sex. However, girls are less dynamic than boys, especially as development proceeds, which results in boys

being in conflict with one another much more frequently than with girls. During adolescence boy groups try to keep individual members masculine by ridiculing "sissy-boys." After adolescence rivalry between the sexes usually ceases, and so they abandon their aggressive or resentful attitudes toward one another.

In modern society, the belligerent attitude is expressed mainly in the subdued form of teasing. The child's mind seems to function largely for the purpose of realizing his teasing impulses without injury to himself. Children are experts in teasing by inciting fear, by "calling names," by arousing shame, and the like.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL TYPES

In the discussion of social attitudes up to this point, it has in various connections been suggested that individuals differ in some measure respecting the degree to which any tendency is manifested, and the length of the period of its continuance. It has also been mentioned that while children tend normally to abandon a given attitude in the process of development, still in some instances growth may be so arrested from natural or environmental causes that the unfortunates afflicted in this manner remain permanently in this attitude. While the principle of individual variability of the character indicated has thus been recognized in the preceding discussion, it has still not received the attention which it deserves. The aim thus far has been to describe those tendencies that all children manifest at one point or another in normal development, without dwelling upon points of divergence; and it has been left until now to inquire to what extent the young differ in the attitudes that have been considered, and whether it may be possible to group them into types with respect to their general social "disposition."

The principle of social types

We may note at the outset that the principle of social types is recognized in "common-sense" philosophy; popular speech and writing contain very frequent allusions thereto. If one will go through the general literature treating of concrete manifestations of human nature, he will find it possible to group the types depicted into two main classes. First, there are those individuals whose conduct is in the main in accord with the requirements of the particular social environment in which they live; and so they win the approval and even

Individual variability recognized in popular philosophy

the applause of the people in their community. In the second place, there is the large class, comprising numerous groups of persons who, in one way or another, act in opposition to the expressed or implied wishes of the communities of which they are members, and so arouse the more or less dynamic hostility of their associates. The first type may be said to be *adaptable*. A person of this type either adopts the *alter's* social creed and practice, or he is capable of so influencing the *alter* that the latter will not assume a resistant attitude toward his expressions. An individual of this sort lives, on the whole, in congruent relations with his fellows and the public at large. An individual of the second type is usually "on the off side," either because of unwillingness or inability to conform to community standards and conventions, or because of incapacity to induce his associates and the public to accept new standards which he attempts to establish.

Are there types in childhood and youth?

Now, may these types be found in childhood or in youth? The remark most frequently heard about the individuals in a group of children, whether in the school or in the home, is that one or more of them may be "agreeable" or "amiable" or "gentle," and the like, while others may be quite the opposite. According to the observations of the present writer, children from the second birthday on differ in the readiness and completeness with which they adjust themselves to their comrades, to the people in authority over them, or to those with whom they have any relations whatsoever. It is not implied in this statement that any child is wholly adaptable; that he offers no resistance to the conduct imposed upon him; nor, on the other hand, is it implied that any child is wholly lacking in adaptability. It is meant simply that opposition to social practice in force in a community is more marked and persistent with some individuals than with others; and this distinction probably continues into adult life, though it is not at all certain that the child of five who is distinguished

for his antagonism to the *alter* continues to be in conflict with him to the end of his days. The writer has been able to keep close account of certain persons who, while in trouble with those about them much of the time at five, are seldom in conflict with any one at fifteen or sixteen. A striking change in attitude occurred in these cases between the ages of nine and twelve; and the new attitude of ready adaptability is continuing through the adolescent period.

The child who is not urgent or "offensive" in pressing his interests in opposition to those of the *alter* will be "liked," at least by the adults with whom he comes in contact. He will be spoken of as a "gentle" or "agreeable" child. If he shows due deference to his elders, serving them, giving way to them, manifesting humbleness in their presence, and the like, he will be "courteous" or "respectful." Unquestionably children differ in the readiness with which they adopt the conventional "manners" which are essential to the courteous attitude. The child who does not observe the customary formalities, in his relations with his elders especially, will be regarded as "discourteous," or "disrespectful," or "brazen," and the like, though he may not offend against any of the fundamental and really vital social virtues. Ordinarily the child who is deferential will be a favorite with his elders and "superiors," because of the pleasure which he occasions them in apparently recognizing their importance, and not pushing forward his own to the neglect of their personality. One who never arouses hostile feeling in his associates, adults particularly, will be "angelic," provided that at the same time he manifests a reasonable degree of strength and efficiency in the activities of his daily life.

The adaptable type

The individual who is merely a reed, bending before every breeze that blows, cannot arouse strong feeling of approval or comradeship in most of those with whom he has relations, though certain persons, elderly women especially per-

haps, think highly of such a type. But the general tendency in respect to this sort of individual is especially noticeable in the intercourse of children of about the same age and social status. The "weak" individual, the one who cannot shape events, who cannot determine the welfare of others for good or ill, who is always a ready follower but never a leader, will be largely ignored, or possibly "despised," except as he can be used to advantage by his more vigorous associates. His companions, in order really to approve of him, must feel that he is capable, while, at the same time, perhaps, fairly "deferential," "respectful," and willing, though these latter qualities are not much emphasized in child groups. After all, the individual who is willing and deferential, — "good," in short, — but who is lacking in ability to bring things to pass, will play only a subordinate rôle in his social adjustments. He will not seriously offend people or greatly please them, because he can neither prevent them from attaining, nor aid them to attain, their ends. Such an individual may be a "respectable" and possibly a "nice" person, but he can hardly be an "agreeable" one.

The "weak" type

In almost any schoolroom of fifty children there may be seen cases of the "agreeable" type, and also of the "nice" type. The latter is usually neutral in his influence upon the group; and while he may be approved by the teacher, he still does not awaken in her strong feeling of any sort, as does the pupil who is capable and at the same time reasonably adaptable, though not too ready to give up his own designs. The group is at best indifferent to the merely "nice" boy; often it is positively hostile to him because of his neutral character, and it plagues and annoys him. The interests of the group, of the teacher, of the parent, and of the minister are often not the same with respect to certain of the traits of an individual child. The minister, the teacher (often, though not universally), the grandparents, and the neighbors desire him to be compliant, submissive, deferential,

while the group and usually the parent desire him to have initiative and force, — to possess some of the characteristics of the leader. On this account the estimate put upon a child by the various social groups to which he is related is often quite divergent, some commending him, others condemning him, while others simply ignore him if he is inclined to be at all neutral in character.

As the individual progresses in his development, and maintains a congruent attitude toward his constantly enlarging social environment, while at the same time exhibiting force and initiative, he becomes in due course a "tactful" or "diplomatic" person, — one who accomplishes his complex ends without seeming to act in opposition to the desires of those about him, and the conventions of the society in which he operates. The more complex his relations become, the more necessary it is for him to choose his course carefully, *deliberately*, in order that he may achieve his purposes while avoiding conflict. On the other hand, the tactless individual moves toward the goal he seeks to attain, and he pays little, if any, heed to the desires of his fellows or the conventions of society with reference thereto. He endeavors to remove them from his path if they obstruct his way; and he ignores their reactions more or less completely. He is dominated by the idea of accomplishing his aim, and he cannot "sense" the interests and the attitudes of others with regard to his action; and in any event he "does not care." The tactful individual is always delicately responsive to the attitudes of the people who are affected by his movements. He is able to anticipate their reactions upon any projected enterprise, and so he endeavors to shape his conduct in such a way as to secure their approval and their coöperation. As the relations which the individual assumes toward his fellows become more and more intricate, he passes of necessity from the "tactful" to the "diplomatic" person. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that the diplomatic attitude is not assumed until well

The tactful type

on toward the completion of the developmental process; though the fundamental element in this attitude is sometimes apparent in children at an early age, when they endeavor to secure their ends by first arousing pleasant feelings in the persons to whom they are to appeal for aid. It is, however, doubtful if this is a prominent feature in any individual's life before the adolescent period. It is true that some children are gentler than others in their demands; they avoid direct conflict with those in authority, but yet they are hardly diplomatic. The pre-adolescent child is not sufficiently reflective to plan deliberately to awaken agreeable states in those who are affected by his requests, or to make it appear to them that he is not asking anything out of the ordinary, or in any way prejudicial to their own interests, but rather favorable to their well-being. Normally the child goes directly to the point at issue in his petitions, though some are more "blunt" or domineering or coercive than others. In voice and manner they *demand* what they wish instead of *appealing* for it. But, as a rule, the child in his requests represents his needs, whatever they may be, in a straightforward way, and he does not plan beforehand to present them in such a manner that the real object of his desires may not be too apparent at the beginning. As pointed out above, some children reveal, in a sort of bullying attitude, their wishes to those who can grant them, while others are supplicative; but all are, before adolescence, simple, direct, and undiplomatic. Diplomacy is an art which is confined to the later stages of development and to maturity.

Contrasted with the type of child who is predominantly in congruent relations with the people about him, is the one who is in conflict with them most of the time. The child who is largely indifferent to the "respect" which should be shown to his elders and superiors, and treats them much as he does his associates, is apt to gain the reputation of being a "forward" or "impertinent" or "impudent" individual. It has been noted in the pre-

The unadaptable type

ceding discussion that all children tend to resist paying deference to their elders, but some resist it much more determinedly and for a much longer period than others. The child who is deferential conducts himself differently in the presence of the one who is the object of his regard from what he does when he is with his fellows. In the latter case, if he feels on equal terms with his associates, as he commonly does, he will show no sign of a submissive or humble attitude in his relations with them. He will not be at all reserved or inhibited in his action, except in the measure that all the others in the group are. He will carry through a programme of give-and-take in all his activities, with no consciousness that he must either take or give all as some one else may wish. Toward those who are older and wiser and stronger than he, however, he will assume a very different bearing; it will now be all give and no take, or the other way round, as the case may be. In his bearing, as in what he says, he will show that he regards himself, whether consciously or not, as inferior, and so he must wait and serve.

But the child who does not recognize the superiority of any one will tend to assume give-and-take relations toward his elders, as well as toward his companions, and it will be easy for adults to regard him as "impudent," simply because he does not observe the conventional attitudes of the young toward those who are above them, either in age, experience, or social status. On the child's part there may be, and probably is, no intention to offend any one, and no purpose to show disrespect to elders or others. He merely takes it as a matter of course that his father or the minister or the teacher is a person to be dealt with as he has learned to deal with his companions, alike in work and in play. The quality of impudence as ascribed to the child by the adult does not exist in the former's consciousness, but arises out of the latter's own feeling of irritation over the failure of the boy to pay him homage. Thus there is always more or

less of conflict between the point of view of the undeferential child and that of the obeisance-seeking adult who comes into relations with him. Of course, if the adult, whether parent or minister or teacher or governor, can become as a child himself, then he will enjoy give-and-take relations with the boy, and the question of impudence cannot arise in their intercourse. So it happens that a child who in a particular home or school or section of a city or country would be regarded as original, interesting, frank, dynamic, independent, might in another home or school or section of a city or country be considered as impertinent, impudent, or even insolent. It is commonly the case that a child who may be perfectly adaptable in all essentials in home, school, or elsewhere, conveys just the opposite impression to a casual acquaintance because of the non-deferential character of his outward action.

The impertinent and impudent type

In impertinent action, the child does not go far enough in his opposition to conventional standards to arouse retaliatory action against himself; nevertheless, he irritates in some measure the people who are affected by his conduct. Children show marked differences in the degree to which they carry their "smartness" or impertinence. Some, even though they may not be really deferential, are still more impressed than others with the "dignity" of elders. The boy schooled on the street, who has been bred among rough conditions, is notoriously impudent, and even insolent. His experiences have been such that he has developed a general resistant and even aggressive attitude toward adults at any rate. He has been hunted and preyed upon (as he feels) much of the time, and instinctively he reacts by resisting the enforcement upon him of respect and deference, or by preying in any way he can upon those around him. Consciously and purposefully he annoys those who appear to be in authority over him, or who make any claims upon his regard. As he develops, and begins to manifest this general attitude toward persons of

his own age and station, he comes gradually to assume a "contemptuous" attitude. He "looks down" upon an associate who cannot contribute in any way to his pleasure or advancement. If he is a boy in the street, he usually aggresses upon the individual for whom he has contempt, bullying him into a servile attitude. He becomes "scornful" and "disdainful" of those who are much less skillful than himself in street life. Last of all, he may assume a "sneering" or "scoffing" attitude toward those who were once of his own circle, but who have deeply stirred his animosity by trying to excel him, or usurp his position as a leader in any of the social situations in which he is placed.

The scornful or disdainful or sneering attitude is never seen in young children, or in older persons of a meek or humble disposition. It is first manifested toward the latter part of the adolescent period, when rivalry for social advancement becomes keen and the moral sense is sharpened. This attitude can be taken only when the direct, muscular expression of emotion begins to be restrained in favor of other less dynamic, though none the less effective, methods. If a boy of nine or ten could assume the general emotion indicated by the terms *disdain* or *scorn*, he would tend to express his feelings muscularly upon the person of the one who aroused the attitude. Nothing but physical chastisement would fully satisfy him. But with the adolescent, the severest punishment he can inflict is to awaken in his rival the feelings always stimulated by the sneering attitude. The sneer, as a rule, penetrates into the innermost recesses of the life of the one against whom it is directed, and wounds the social self. Only the non-executive type of person, possessing strong, dominant feelings of antipathy, can easily assume the attitude of scorn or disdain. Later on, as he comes into vital contact with the institutions of society, he may become a scoffer. In this attitude he does not attempt to express his feeling in an effective way in the effort either to modify or to abolish the institutions

The attitude of scorn

against which he rails. He simply feels deeply and antagonistically concerning them, and he seeks to spread this feeling among others through the verbal expression of his hostile attitude. It is probable that the dynamic individual does not tend normally to scoff at individuals or institutions; this is more prominently the attitude of the static type, the one whose emotions are active but who is not able to bring to pass the reforms he desires.

The frank "open" types

We may now look at a different variety of social attitudes which are characteristic to a degree of all children, but which are more marked in some than in others. There is first the attitude of "openness," of frankness in social relations. Contrasted with it is the attitude of secrecy, of deception, of deceitfulness. The frank child is naïve and unrestrained in the expression of his thoughts and his feelings. He is "real," "candid," "genuine," "straightforward," "disingenuous." From one point of view he may be said to have moral courage; he is ready at all times (not designedly but rather impulsively) to take the consequences of his actions. As a young child he is simply naïve and frank; but as he develops, so that his conduct in relation to his fellows becomes more complex, and the straight way is increasingly difficult to follow, he may become "sincere" and "genuine." He publishes things as they are, so that no one may be deceived by his representations. He does not shield the self from the natural consequences of its action; nor does he as a rule try to secure goods he desires by artifice whereby the *alter* is misled.

The deceitful type

But contrasted with this is the type in which there is the opposite of frankness; there is slyness and concealment of purpose and method of action. This type is not as naïve or "open," not as direct or as simple as the first. An individual of this type really lacks moral courage, so that he seeks to attain his ends by misrepresentation when this promises to save him trouble or to secure goods he desires which he could not otherwise obtain. He strives

to avoid the consequences of illegitimate action by endeavoring to make it appear as being in accord with the demands of those in authority or of public sentiment. As he develops, and his life broadens, he is likely to become insincere. He may knowingly and deliberately, and as a matter of habit, misrepresent matters in which he has a personal interest, to the end that he may gain some momentary advantage. This is the deceitful, unreliable type. The aim of the frank type is to portray events as they have actually occurred; or to describe his intentions and his aims precisely as he conceives them, even though he may realize they are not in accord with community standards as expressed in customs or rules or laws. The aim of the second type is to conceal his real intentions if he feels they are in conflict with the desires of the *alter;* and while really keeping to his original purposes he may seek to win the approval of the *alter* by pretending to espouse different ones. In any group of fifty children from the fourth year of age forward, there will almost certainly be found individuals who will illustrate these contrasted types.

The communicative type

In the preceding paragraphs the term "openness" has been employed to designate the type of child who does not attempt to conceal those of his actions that may result disadvantageously, first to the *alter* and then perhaps to himself, or that have for their end to solicit favors from the *alter*. But in popular usage, "openness" denotes another attitude characteristic in a measure of all children, but more marked with some than with others. To illustrate: S. at eight seems utterly unable to keep any experience "to himself." It seems imperative that he should communicate all that he sees or does, or that is done to him. It is as though he were under strain and tension until all that has entered into his thought or feeling passes from him out into his social environment. Every experience he has is a sort of charge on the expressive nervous mechanism, and equilibrium cannot be restored

until discharge occurs. But V. is not so ready in expressing himself. He "lives more within himself." He either does not feel an impulse to express experiences which S. would unhesitatingly communicate; or if he does have such a feeling he is able to inhibit the action; or, perhaps, he may not be able to overcome the natural resistance to expression. The latter type more than the former is conscious of self. S. simply communicates everything regardless of the way the *alter* will take it, except that he may to some extent restrain himself when it is evident that the reaction of the people about him will be hostile; though he will take hazardous chances in this regard.

The self-conscious type

But V. is more sensitive to the attitudes of the *alter* as revealed in facial expression and the like, and this makes him more cautious than S., more "reserved" possibly. S. is apparently confident (though not reflectively so) that the *alter* will receive his expressions hospitably anyway, and so he is not keen in noting just how the people who look at or listen to him are reacting to his expressions. He seemingly enjoys the act of expression so much that consciousness cannot take account of the social effects thereof. Not so with V., however, or at least not to such an extent as with S. The former feels the responses of the *alter* more readily than the latter; he is not so completely dominated by his own action. He shows this in his tendency to become embarrassed when the attention of a company is centred on him. S. will perform tricks before a group of his playmates or his elders without hesitancy or "self-consciousness"; but V. is apt to be "shy" or "timid" under such circumstances.

The dramatic type

At school S. will in his games readily play as best he can the rôle of any living thing which is suggested to him, and he will "act it out," no matter who is observing him, or what their expressions may be. He is not confused when the attention of the group is concentrated on him. But it is different with V.,

who cannot "show off" without embarrassment, except in the presence of those before whom he has frequently exhibited himself under various assumed personalities. In the presence of strangers he is "bashful," and resists the efforts of visitors to induce him to perform for their entertainment. S. seems more confident than V. that he can go through with any "stunt," and that whatever he does will be well received by his audience; he is not greatly concerned about their attitudes anyway. V. has a more or less instinctive dread of exhibiting himself, making himself prominent, attracting attention to himself, at least in the presence of unfamiliar persons. His reactions indicate that he is afraid of ridicule; he is apprehensive lest those who observe him will "make fun" of him. He has, so far as is known, had no distressing experience from performing before others, so that his attitude is largely an instinctive one.

These types may be seen at every period of development. In adolescence there are the open, communicative individuals, and those who are reserved, and even taciturn. The latter individuals, more than the former, "keep things to themselves"; they are seemingly less confident that their expressions will be hospitably received by those who are affected by them. The former type tends to communicate all details of personal experience, while the latter type may communicate only the more important results thereof. The former type solicits the applause of people, and acts so as to attract demonstrative attention, while the latter type may shrink to a greater or less degree from being put in any conspicuous position, even with the likelihood of receiving the cordial responses of people. The retiring individual doubtless keeps out of the public gaze, mainly, though not wholly, because of a feeling of inability adequately to meet all the requirements demanded by the public.

It will be appropriate, before closing this chapter, to mention types of children differentiated according to the degree of their sensitiveness to the feelings and desires of

those with whom they come in contact in any way. Here is a boy, K., who seems constantly to be making quite unhappy those who are younger or weaker than himself. His associates say that he "picks on" other boys; and in all sorts of ways he annoys the girls who may be within badgering distance. He is described by many of his playmates as "mean" and "tricky" and "disagreeable." He seems to enjoy getting his associates into trouble, provided the outcome is not too serious for them or for himself. He is much of the time in a bullying attitude toward his associates, and in a resistant attitude toward his elders and superiors. In school he annoys the teacher a great deal, and she must frequently "change his seat" because he makes it unpleasant for those who have seats near him. If any classmate "tells on" him he will not forget it for many a day, but will make life miserable for the tattler. He does not forgive, nor does he ask forgiveness. He appears to enjoy a preying life; always he is plotting to annoy or to torment some one who cannot react effectively enough to do him injury. When he is on the playground engaged in games his associates are continually on the lookout lest he trip them up or kick them or poke them, or take advantage of them in some other way. He likes to play practical jokes, and to turn the laugh on a person who is peculiar in any respect. At the same time he vigorously resents being "picked on," and he will "get even" if he can with any one who turns the laugh on him. He likes to prey on others, but he reacts in every mean way he knows how upon those who prey on him.

The hectoring type

Contrasted with this bullying, belligerent type is the meek individual, the one who does not prey upon his fellows as the other type does, and who may not even vigorously resist the aggressions of others. This type is not likely to be very definitely marked in the earliest years, since all children tend normally to aggress and to resist aggression. But by the third year, at any rate,

The meek type

there begins to be differentiation of individuals in respect to the characteristics in question. While one individual may continue on in his preying tendencies, another may commence to get control over these tendencies, and to manifest greater regard for the feelings and interests of his associates. J. in her ninth year illustrates this latter type. She does not often now cause others annoyance; and there is never any complaint from those younger or weaker than she that she is "mean" or "disagreeable." She does not prey upon any one now, whether they be younger or older than herself, or of the same age. Her teachers for several years have had no fault to find with her behavior. She readily forgives and forgets the minor injuries done her, even by K. who sometimes annoys her as he does others; though she has a tendency to resist his depredations. She has apparently a "kindly feeling" toward every one. She enjoys her associates, and indeed all with whom she comes in contact, and she seems to be happy in conducting herself so as not to irritate them. She probably does not reflect that she ought to make others happy; in all likelihood she acts spontaneously in ways which do not arouse opposition in those who are affected by her action, while K. acts in just the other way. J. is generous in sharing her possessions with those about her, and she is grateful to those who serve her in any way. If she be criticised by her parents for sins of omission or commission in her daily life, she rarely now makes any defense. She is not humiliated or angered or even made uncomfortable; she just naïvely accepts her chiding, and goes on with the enterprises in hand as soon as her critics release her attention. She is a meek individual.

Development-transformation in types

No more need be done here than to mention a principle which has been referred to in another connection, the principle of plasticity in types during childhood and youth. It is the common thing for a headstrong child to become docile and even meek in youth.

Frequently a belligerent boy, the bully of the group at seven, becomes the most peaceable and inoffensive member of the group at twenty; and the principle applies to all types whatsoever. It is not too much to say that one cannot tell from observing the social tendencies of a young child what traits will be dominant in him in maturity, though if all educative influences can be controlled and directed, it may be possible to make a rough sketch of the disposition when it shall have ceased to be plastic, or relatively so.

Résumé The principle of social types is recognized in "common-sense" philosophy. In popular literature people are grouped into two main classes, — those who do and those who do not readily adapt themselves to the views, the customs, and the institutions of the communities in which they live. These "types" exist in childhood and youth as well as in maturity, according to the prevailing conception.

The adaptable child is usually regarded by his elders and superiors as "gentle" or "agreeable," while the unadaptable type is considered to be "headstrong" or "disrespectful." The adaptable individual may lack independence, initiative, and self-confidence to such a degree that he is regarded as "weak" and ineffective in life. Some older people may enjoy such a type, because he is non-resistant to their advances; but his fellows as a rule will either "use" him, ignore him, or despise him. A "nice" boy does not get on well in the give-and-take of group activity, though he may receive the encomiums of his grandparents, his minister, his teacher, and possibly his parents. With development the adaptable individual may become "tactful" and "diplomatic."

The unadaptable child is likely to gain the reputation of being "impertinent" or "impudent" or "insolent" if he treats his elders and other "dignified" personages in the community as he does his group associates. The boy schooled on the street is almost certain to develop an insolent attitude toward the conventions of society, and those who conspicuously observe or defend them. In time insolence may develop into scorn or disdain, which attitudes may be assumed alike toward persons, toward customs, and toward institutions.

In childhood, as in youth and maturity, one may see the "naïve," "frank," "open" type, which in the course of development is apt to develop into the "genuine" and "sincere" type. This type of person publishes experience just as he perceives and interprets it, regardless of the outcome upon his own fortunes. In contrast to this type is the deceitful type, whose tendency it is to conceal the motives and outcome of his actions if they are likely to result to his disadvantage.

Children may be distinguished according to the readiness and completeness with which they communize their experiences. The communicative type is always eager to tell all that is seen or heard or experienced in any way, while the non-communicative individual "keeps things to himself."

Some children are more self-conscious than others, and are not as free and easy in exhibiting themselves, especially before strangers. They are said to be "timid," or "bashful," or "retiring," perhaps even "modest." The dramatic type of person readily impersonates characters, and "acts them out," seeming not to be conscious of the reactions of his audience. But the self-conscious individual appears always to be under restraint, on account of undue concern about how the *alter* will regard his expressions.

Finally, the badgering type is often seen in childhood and youth; and contrasted therewith is the meek type, which is comparatively non-resistant to the demands of elders and superiors, and often to the aggression of equals.

But all types in childhood and youth are plastic; and it is commonly seen that a child with very pronounced social tendencies at five may at twenty-five exhibit just as pronounced tendencies of an opposite character.

PART II

SOCIAL EDUCATION

CHAPTER X

FROM A NATIONAL STANDPOINT[1]

Light on our American problem from older civilizations

One can best discuss any phase of American education in its larger aspects only after he has studied the civilization of older countries, in the effort to ascertain what has been the influence upon national and individual life of various educational ideals and practices. It should, of course, be acknowledged at the outset that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover just what part education in the strict sense has played in determining the career of any people, since it is but one of many coöperating factors. Still, while we cannot be precise in regard to details, we can nevertheless present with much confidence a few large and important principles pertaining to the educational experience of European countries, more or less closely related to our own in respect to intellectual and temperamental characteristics, as England, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. Such an inquiry will lead us to consider, in the first place, certain general conditions and methods of education which determine the outcome for social efficiency in national and individual life of any system of instruction. One may observe teachers in European schools giving specific lessons in ethical and moral conduct which apparently are almost if not entirely fruitless in their effect upon the daily social adjustments of pupils, probably because the larger problems

[1] As these pages are passing through the press the author has seen *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools*, edited by Sadler. In this book it seems to be shown beyond question that while certain European countries are striving to introduce into the schools courses in moral instruction, they are accomplishing little if anything in this work, because they have not attacked the fundamental problem in moral training, which is discussed in this chapter.

of social training have received but little serious study. It does not seem precipitous, in view of what has gone before, to say here that social efficiency is not a simple matter to be developed by formal instruction in set exercises, as in geometry, for example, though special instruction may doubtless be made of service if the *general conduct of education prepares adequately for it.* So we must first turn our attention to the brief consideration of these more general conditions, as preliminary to our discussion of specific methods of social training.

The point of view

It may be stated at the outset, as the most fundamental conception of social education, that the supreme problem in this work is so to train each oncoming generation that the nation may continue to grow in strength, stability, and efficiency. This is borne in upon one with irresistible force as he surveys the ruins of ancient peoples, and as he sees that European nations, only recently leaders in all the world's activities, — intellectual, artistic, commercial, — have already entered upon their decadent period; although, since there is everywhere an awakening to the danger of degeneration, it is possible that decay may be retarded or in some cases quite successfully resisted. We need not at this point dwell at any length upon the theory current among us that nations like individuals must pass through their seven ages, from infancy to old age; but we may readily grant that as one studies the peoples of the Old World he sees clearly why men believe the doctrine. And yet there is at least one European nation that is apparently warding off old age, and possibly even regaining its youth; which phenomenon has been witnessed several times in the history of nations. There seems to be no reason in the law of things why the social organism should not be able to perpetuate itself, acquiring even greater stability with increase of years, if only it understood how to adapt each new generation to the changing conditions resulting inevitably from the evolution of the race.

The dogma that the social organism is subject to precisely the same developmental and degenerative laws as the biological organism has already been abandoned by competent students, though it still lingers on in popular philosophy. The fact that in the social organism new individuals are constantly appearing, which gives us an opportunity constantly to reshape them to become adjusted to varying environmental conditions, makes the social quite different from the biological organism in respect to continuity of existence. It is true the social organism tends, through social heredity, to become settled in definite and permanent habits of action, with the result that it cannot, or at least does not, adjust itself readily enough to changing circumstances, and so in due course it weakens or decays altogether. But here is revealed the real function of education, — so to equip the new members of the social organism, with ideas and with modes of conduct, that they may be able to discern the requirements for continued prosperity, and that they may have such control over their actions that they can adapt themselves to the needs of any situation.

To impress this general principle, it may be added here that education in decadent European countries to-day fails to accomplish effectively either of the ends just indicated; the people have not been trained so that they can see what is demanded in order to preserve the vitality of the nation under changing conditions, and they are on the whole unable to resist sensuous pleasures of the moment for ends of greater and more permanent value in a social, intellectual, and æsthetic way. This problem of education is essentially a social or moral one. Loss of moral stamina is always the beginning of degeneracy in national life. Ask any unprejudiced student of affairs in Spain or Italy, for instance, what is the trouble with his country, and he will tell you in effect that it is morally weak, and so has lost or is losing its vigor. Looked at in the large, what we mean by morality is just those modes of conduct that are requisite for indi-

vidual and national ascendency, not at the expense of other individuals and nations, but through a more and more perfect understanding of the laws of nature for the purpose of utilizing them for human well-being, and also through a continually increasing perfection in social organization and coöperation. Whatever lessens vitality and threatens decay in the long run is immoral; and by decay is meant a narrowing of the range of individual and national interest and activity, concentring it ever more largely upon mere physical existence, with a consequent decline in the sum total of the happiness of a people.

The crucial period in the life of a nation

The history of nations shows that, as a rule, when they are developing vigorously in their youth they exhibit the fundamental social virtues. Then the people are on the whole temperate, honest, patriotic, industrious, frugal, law-abiding, charitable, and so on. This applies as fully, doubtless, to contemporary civilizations as to those of an earlier day, which were of a military character. To develop the resources of a country, and compete with other countries commercially, requires that most of the people, at any rate, should conserve their forces, and employ them in profitable ways. Again, it requires that the social organism should be well adjusted internally, so that the majority of its members may engage freely in profitable production. This implies observance of the social law in all its fundamental features. But when a nation achieves success in its endeavors, when the struggle for existence or for the attainment of ideals begins to grow less, and leisure and luxury increases, then comes the crucial epoch in the lives of nations as of individuals.[1] The evidence everywhere before one's eyes in the Old World indicates that there most of the nations, at any rate, have not

[1] I purposely leave aside the consideration of such questions as the increase in the population of a country beyond the means of subsistence for all. Matters of this sort lie outside the scope of our present inquiry, though they are, of course, of vast importance in a study of all the causes of national decay.

yet learned how to employ their leisure and their wealth so as to insure continuous development, or even to maintain the stage of development already reached. Among ancient peoples,—and the principle appears to hold for the majority of modern nations,—the marked increase in luxury among the few, together with the gradual exhaustion of the resources which produced it, invariably led first to moral and then to physical disintegration. This without question suggests the gravest problem which confronts the American nation to-day. Even though one be a confirmed optimist, he cannot ignore the striking lesson that is taught us by decadent peoples.

Wealth is being amassed with alarming rapidity in our land; the natural resources are being developed with feverish haste; and already in a few regions they appear to be in considerable part exhausted. Everywhere one feels the really terrific strain for material gain. And for the moment all is well; on the whole the nation is sound morally, or so it seems in contrast with decadent older nations. But we have hardly yet reached the period when the moral vitality of our nation has been tested, though we are surely approaching it rapidly. We are on the whole still in the period of our youth, the period of conquest, when the pursuit of great ends, even of a material character, requires the observance of social regulations in their fundamental bearings. But even now there are signs of the disintegrating influence of luxury among the extremely wealthy in American life, just what one finds in decadent European nations, and what one knows to have been true of extinct civilizations, like that of Rome. With us this small group of over-wealthy individuals has already lost interest in ends of national and individual prosperity, in matters of permanent value, and they are giving themselves to the pursuit of sensuous pleasures. One knows what this must lead to if it is not checked, for it has been demonstrated time and again in older countries.

The point to be noted is that the degenerative process

always begins when a considerable part of the people in a nation give themselves up to gross pleasure seeking; and it is therefore the chief problem of education to avert this catastrophe. And what may be done about it? In the first place, the school must strive to interest the young in ends other than those of a purely physical and temporary character. It must in some way set up intellectual, æsthetic, and social ideals (the religious ideals, vital and essential as they are in individual and national life, cannot be considered here), which will restrain the pursuit of material gain and mere sensuous gratification. If this cannot be achieved, our situation is a hopeless one. Take Italy, for example; her schools have concerned[1] themselves largely with mere linguistic training. So far as one can discover, there are few if any large conserving interests developed among the pupils in these schools. The art galleries of Italy attract thousands of visitors yearly from all parts of the world, but the school children seem to have only slight æsthetic interests, and high-grade art makes scarcely any impress for good upon their lives. The Neapolitans, as an instance, seem to know less about the art treasures in their city than do many persons in America, England, or Germany. As a people they apparently have but few intellectual or other conserving ideals, which can stimulate them to self-restraint and high endeavor in a time of severe strain and stress in national life. When one goes into the schools he can observe little but mere formal work, which exerts hardly any influence upon the springs of aspiration and of conduct; and this must be one cause of the present unhappy condition of the nation, as authorities like Professor Garlanda[2] of Rome are pointing out with vigor to-day.

The chief problem in education

[1] As these lines are being written the report comes from Italy that a supreme effort is about to be made by the government to make the schools more efficient in training the young for contemporary life.

[2] Professor Garlanda's views on the causes of Italy's troubles are presented in part in his *Il Terzia Italia;* but his opinions respecting the need of fundamental educational reform in Italy were stated at length to the writer personally in 1905.

When one studies Italian childhood of to-day, he becomes convinced that it does not mean much for social education to have the young simply live in the vicinity of æsthetic things, though such a theory is current among teachers in our own country. It would be about as reasonable to say that a man who could not read would receive great intellectual benefit from having Shakespeare in his library. To profit by Shakespeare, one must be able to assimilate his thought, and carry it into action. Shakespeare will influence those only who are on about the same plane of intellect and experience with him. So in the establishment of æsthetic interests, any great work of art in the world can influence an individual's life only when he is led up to the artist's sphere of thought and feeling; and this means that he must have something of the same real, vital, æsthetic experience as the artist. In the attainment of this end formal lessons in drawing will be of slight avail. Even "analysis" of great works of art will accomplish but little. That training alone will be educative in an effective way which causes the pupil constantly to *make choices* among varying æsthetic values, and to *produce æsthetic things*. From the beginning to the end of his education he must be kept in direct contact with æsthetic environments, within his range of appreciation, being aided in the assimilation and production of æsthetic values according to his degree of development. We may count upon it as certain that the results of all the world's æsthetic activities will have social worth for the individual, and become ends for his own endeavors, only as he grows to assimilate them in the manner indicated. The principle was long ago recognized by Aristotle, who maintained that one who could not execute music could not best appreciate it. Modern psychology maintains that perception and expression, apprehension and execution, go hand in hand. It is a matter of the very simplest daily observation that one can adjust himself to those things only, of any degree of

Development of æsthetic interests

complexity, that lie within the general field of his own achievements. Simply looking at or listening to these things does not imply effective appreciation of them.

The principle then is, that in American life we must make every effort to develop æsthetic interests in all the pupils of the schools, by giving them *vital* æsthetic experience from the beginning to the end of their educational career. This most older civilizations have failed to do. Art of a certain kind was, a few generations ago, developed to the highest point in Italy, as an example; but only a small proportion of the people were really affected by it. The great body of the populace, upon whom the life of any nation depends, was not largely influenced by it in their feeling and conduct. Besides, the æsthetic interest of even the few was exceedingly narrow in its scope and content. Painting, and religious painting at that, touches but a small part of the whole of life; and if the æsthetic activities of any people are limited mainly to this form of art, the results must be more or less neutral, so far as the majority of the people are concerned. The present-day German conception is a much more comprehensive and effective one, so far as the social outcome upon the thought and feeling of the nation is concerned. The Germans, more than any other people it seems, are incorporating art into the practical activities of every-day life. The objects one employs in his daily work, for instance, are being made æsthetic; and these probably affect him for good far more profoundly than pictures hung upon the walls or painted on the ceilings of churches. Here is a principle of immeasurable importance for our American schools. We must endeavor to develop in all our people æsthetic interests, which will dominate them in their commonplace, if you please, activities, and become ends for the utilization of their energies. It will doubtless be granted without argument that the opportunities in this respect are unlimited; man's æsthetic needs can never be fully met, as they concern the things he must use in the struggle for

existence. Of pictures he can easily have an excess, so that many of them he may not respond to at all; but it is otherwise with the furnishing of his home and its environs, the tools he uses, and the like.

In a study of European life one is struck with the almost total lack of what might be called intellectual interests among the masses in many of the countries. Let us glance at Italy again. The horizon of the people, even those engaged in intellectual pursuits, is bounded largely by the immediate present, alike in time and in space. They know but little concerning the great movements of the day outside of their own country, or even outside their own province. One finds university professors even who are quite ignorant of what men in other countries are doing in their special fields, though a few of them are among the world's most advanced scholars. Further, these people as a whole have little knowledge of the literature or history of any other country than their own; and they have only a formal and sort of vainglorious interest in their own history and achievements. The desire to know for the sake of understanding has practically died out in this land, probably because the schools do little if anything to foster it. From the primary school to the university almost everything is *traditional;* learning is prepared in formal doses, and it must be taken just as prescribed. The instructor hands out the doses, in the text-books or the lectures, and the pupils raise no queries nor make any objections.

Development of intellectual interests

One looks in vain usually for the inquiring mind among the students. The teachers will tell you there are such; but how can they tell, since little opportunity is given for the love of knowledge, *real*, *vital* knowledge, to manifest itself? The studies make demands upon memory almost exclusively, and the instructors, speaking generally, make appeals to this faculty only. Inquire of a lyceal teacher why he does not give his pupils some opportunity to discuss the subject he is teaching them, or to ask him questions, or why he

does not ask them questions in order to get their opinions, and he will tell you that there is no time for such work. The central authority at Rome lays out his programme for him, and he must cover the ground, which does not provide for awakening the desire for knowledge, but only to impart so many traditional facts. The same is true in principle in the universities, in the elementary schools, in the normal schools even.

Italy is thus cited as an instance of arrest, or perhaps introversion, in respect to intellectual interests, with the purpose of showing what we must strive in every way to avoid in our American schools. Happily we have faith in the importance of developing a genuine love of vital knowledge, which should lead our pupils to explore every phase of nature, and human nature, in the attempt to discover how things are constituted and how they operate. Out of this searching should come in time practical values; but the greatest good lies in the opportunity it affords for utilizing the leisure and the energy of our people in healthful, constructive pursuits. It is not enough at all that a few should have this interest, as in Greek and Roman civilization; but it must be generally disseminated among the people, who must be kept in sympathy with the suggestions made by investigators if progress is to be made continually. If it be possible to awaken the minds of the majority of our people so that they will be incessantly looking forward and searching for truths still uncovered, it seems that we should be able to put off for a long time (may we hope for all time?) the day when we shall begin to return upon our path. A nation of alert minds will discern the forces that threaten degeneration in the national life, and they should be able to control them; but the *majority of the people* must be trained so that they can discern these forces and appreciate whither they tend. A nation cannot be saved by the enlightenment of the few; the attitudes and appreciation of the majority, after all, determine the fate of a nation, as Professor Garlanda is making clear to his own people.

It has been suggested that we in America have the right ideal; but this does not mean that we are achieving all that can be desired in giving our people a genuine interest in vital truth. Let one study the life in either the rural districts or the cities in almost any section of our country, and he will find that the schools leave a good deal to be desired in respect to developing a love for genuine, virile knowledge in the rising generation. The youth in these places do not as a rule frequent the libraries or the laboratories during their leisure hours, but instead they rendezvous at the livery stable, the barber shop, and the saloon. Study the work of the schools among us, and it will be found that they have hardly yet begun to do vital teaching which will establish the ideals which it has been said must be made to exert a controlling influence upon the lives of our people, if we are to avoid the unhappy fate of older civilizations. Our schools are still governed to a degree by the formal, artificial, mechanical methods which make the schools of Spain and Italy, and other European countries to a less extent, so ineffective in moulding the lives of the rising generation in the manner indicated as essential for individual and national well-being.

Tendencies in our own country

Our teachers are themselves often without interest in vital knowledge, and are quite lacking in inspiration; and in this regard Germany can teach us a useful lesson. In our ungraded district schools the situation is the most serious; for in many places the teaching is still altogether mechanical and largely ineffective. To substitute mind-awakening and fruitful subjects and methods for merely formal ones must be our constant endeavor. It is beyond question that a high type of social life cannot be developed among a people whose schools are formal, mechanical, artificial. But we have reason to be hopeful. Already nature-study and manual activities have been made a regular part of the curriculum of the country schools in certain of the states. It is being required also that the teachers in these

schools shall have received some special training for their profession. Again, the consolidating of country schools, affording opportunity to secure better teachers and better equipment for effective teaching in all departments, promises well for the future. We must move steadily and irresistibly on along all these lines of progress until formalism is replaced by vitalism in every grade of public school, from the kindergarten through the university.

Development of sound altruistic interests

Students of human evolution have often pointed out that later civilizations have differed markedly from those of more ancient times in their larger and saner altruistic interests. All modern nations have, to some extent at any rate, made provision for the care and aid of the needy and the helpless among their people. In its bearing upon national life, this means that some of the energy of the more fortunate individuals in any group is given to the improvement of the state of the less fortunate; and the social organism is unquestionably strengthened thereby. If space permitted, it could probably be shown that those nations in which the altruistic tendencies are the strongest and at the same time the most rational are in the most stable condition, and give promise of retaining their vigor the longest. But it is a matter of supreme importance to note how the different nations express their charitable inclinations, for they differ considerably in this respect. Here in one nation where poverty is extreme, and the helpless from one cause or another are numbered by the hundreds of thousands, — in this nation the rich show their sympathy by making contributions in money or goods *directly* to the poor among them. This, it will be apparent, is a more or less spectacular method of administering aid, and would naturally be characteristic of a people who are fond of exhibition, and whose interests usually have an immediate personal reference. It should be noted that this expression of altruistic feeling must be constantly repeated in order to be of substantial aid to the unfortunate, for it does not

make them *self-helpful*. It does not give them initiative in taking advantage of conditions to aid themselves; rather it probably tends to destroy initiative, making the recipient of charity constantly more dependent.

But here in another nation, while there is some direct contributing to charity, the altruistic tendencies are mainly expressed in other directions. The wealthy endow institutions or schools of one kind or another for the poor; they provide lectures dealing with modes of effective living adapted to the circumstances of those who listen to them; and in other ways they seek to relieve distress by making the needy intelligent and resourceful. It will not be necessary to dwell upon the proposition that this latter method is the only effective one in permanently strengthening national life. In our own country we have great need of more thoroughly appreciating this principle and putting it into effect. In the great rush of our life, and the general prosperity everywhere abounding, it pleases many of us best to give money to all who ask for it. Americans are known throughout Europe for their "generous" disposition. They are in the habit of giving freely to those who beg, without inquiring as to the merits of the beneficiaries, or the consequences of giving upon their conduct. At the same time it should be recognized that our people have not forgotten to make provisions for the poor to become self-helpful; no nation has done more in this direction, unless it be Germany with her exceptionally effective system of evening industrial and trade schools.

But we can do vastly more than we have done, and the schools can coöperate in the endeavor. We should have in the higher grades of the elementary school, in the secondary school, and in the college and the university, studies dealing in a very concrete, vital way with the more fundamental problems in the life of the nation. It may be shown to eighth-grade pupils even what are the requisites for the social health of our people; and among the topics discussed

should be one treating of the methods of relieving and reducing poverty. The aim of this study should be to make all our people conscious of the fact that *self-helpfulness* on the part of practically all the population of a nation is absolutely essential to its happiness and its endurance. This is one of the greatest lessons our schools can impress upon the rising generation, and no pains should be spared to teach it most effectively. Let it be made apparent in this study that charity can always be best expressed in the long run by teaching those in need *how to be of service.* In this way the range of interests and activities within the nation will be enlarged, and the means of increasing happiness will be put into the hands of poor and rich alike. Every pupil who leaves our schools, even the elementary school, should have got a glimpse at least of the idea that no social organism can long survive if a considerable proportion of its members are non-productive in any way, whatever may be the reason, whether because of luxury, or dependence upon the bounty of the rich, or the state, or what not.

Development of industrial interests

This leads to a word upon the necessity of our schools developing industrial interests in the young. One may hear students of sociology and economics in most European countries say that modern educational systems train too largely for the professions, and ignore the industries upon which in the end the well-being of the social organism depends. In Italy, France, and England especially, there is a profound conviction among thinking men that it would be vastly better for their respective nations if there were fewer universities and more technical schools, which would prepare young men and women adequately for agriculture, engineering, commerce, and domestic duties. Unemployed doctors of philosophy, it is said over and over again, are a source of peril to any nation, for they are generally ill-contented, and they are inclined to advocate the destruction of the existing social order. Meanwhile, the industries upon which civilization depends

have not been greatly affected in European countries through the influence of the schools and colleges, though in Germany particularly there is promise of much improvement in this regard in the future.

Fortunately, in our own country the mechanic arts, agriculture, and the like are apparently destined to occupy the most prominent place in our whole educational system, as they rightly should. However, there are many among us who would arrest this movement and return on our path, because, as they think, we are becoming too "materialistic." But surely we are moving along the right lines, and we must press forward without ceasing, until every industrial activity essential to the life of the nation shall be treated in the spirit and according to the method of modern science, and until it shall be deemed as worthy and ennobling in every way to study agriculture or domestic science as to study Greek or literature or algebra. Where the least has been accomplished in this direction in European nations, the whole life of the people — physical, intellectual, moral — is at the lowest ebb; and where the most has been achieved, the social condition is most stable and promising in all respects; and there is certainly some relation between the healthful or degenerative condition of the nation and the dignity which is attached to industrial pursuits, and the prominence given to them in the educational activities of the people.

In what has been said regarding the development of conserving interests in our schools, it has been implied that it must be the aim throughout to make every individual among us independent and effective in dealing with all matters of general and social as well as personal concern. There is in question here a large principle of the utmost importance in education for national stability. When one endeavors to find the chief deficiencies in the educational régime of decadent or non-progressive countries, it seems clear enough that one

Development of individual initiative and efficiency

defect lies in their *failure to train for individual efficiency* in social as well as personal life. Thorough, unprejudiced students of affairs in these countries complain that the schools are not teaching pupils to "think for themselves." These nations, practically all of them, make obedient routinists in their schools, but such individuals lack independence and initiative. They are not trained to cope with new problems affecting the life of their nation, and they are not coping with them.

In America, we perhaps understand what we ought to do in developing individual power, and one may see the ideal realized in large measure in particular schools in various parts of the Union. But to attain it fully requires teachers of the largest calibre, those who have themselves attained it; and in this respect there is much to be desired in our country. We must have as instructors persons who know how to engender in our children the habit of *effective thinking*, not simply good memorizing; and this effective thinking must be done in the schools with reference to the needs for the perpetuity of our nation, as indicated in the nature of our people and the history of other nations. No amount of learning of rules about moral conduct will prove of any substantial worth, as is shown in France (to which we shall return presently), without this development of individual freedom and efficiency in dealing with the problems affecting national prosperity. In the organization and discipline of our schools, as well as in the choice of studies and in the methods of presenting them, we must encourage individual initiative to the fullest extent.

Conformity to established law

While urging the development of individual initiative, it should at the same time be appreciated that our pupils must be taught perfect obedience to established law. But in every way possible they must be made to see why law has been established, and why it must be observed if all are to prosper best. From first to last in the discipline of the school pupils must be led to see the

reasonableness of rules and regulations; and then they must be made to realize that these regulations, being reasonable, *must* be observed under all circumstances. We shall in a later chapter discuss in detail the general principles in question here; but let it be said now that there is danger of pupils in American schools not acquiring an attitude of ready conformity to reasonable authority. It is a delicate matter to develop this attitude of freedom and at the same time of obedience, but the competent teacher can accomplish it. He can develop in his pupils the habit of seeking the reasons for laws, and if they do not seem right, to attempt to secure something more equitable; but so long as they remain in force they must be observed. The teacher who appreciates his opportunity can utilize the every-day life of his school to achieve effectively the end here indicated.

Résumé

The chief problem of social training is so to influence each oncoming generation that the community or the nation may continue to grow in strength and efficiency, which will insure increasing prosperity, alike to society and to the individual. The theory that the social organism is subject to precisely the same laws of growth and decay as the biological organism is hardly sound, since in the social body new members are constantly appearing, and this makes possible continual readjustment to changing environmental conditions.

The highest function of education is so to equip the plastic members of society that they may realize in knowledge and conduct the requirements for continuous social, intellectual, and physical development. Whatever lessens vitality in any form and threatens decay is, in the large view, immoral. When a nation is developing vigorously it usually exhibits in its activities the fundamental virtues of temperance, industry, fair play, honesty, and the like. But when success is achieved and leisure and luxury increase, then comes the crucial period in the life of a nation, as of an individual. In the past marked increase in luxury in nations has resulted first in moral, and then in physical disintegration.

The educational problem of any nation is mainly how to teach its citizens to employ leisure and wealth so as to insure development instead of decay. In our country the moral vitality of the nation as a whole has not yet been severely tested; but wealth is being amassed with alarming rapidity, and already signs of the disintegrating influence of luxury are appearing. The degenerative process always begins

when a considerable part of the people in a community or a nation give themselves up to the pursuit of sensuous pleasures.

In order to avert this catastrophe, the schools must strive to develop in the young dominating interests of an æsthetic, intellectual, altruistic, and industrial character. The schools of Italy, as an example, fail to do this, and they are, in a measure at least, responsible for the nation's deplorable condition at present.

Merely to dwell in the vicinity of æsthetic things may exert little or no influence upon æsthetic feeling. The great art of the world can affect the feeling and impulses of the individual only when he participates in the artist's thought and feeling. In order that æsthetic training may be truly educative in establishing deep interest in æsthetic objects, it must cause the pupil constantly to *make æsthetic choice* in an environment of varying æsthetic values, and to *produce æsthetic things*. In our country it should be the aim to develop in *all* the people æsthetic interests that will vitally affect their daily lives.

A study of European life reveals a serious lack of genuine intellectual interests among the masses of the people. In the schools of Italy, most if not all the work is formal, traditional, mechanical. Such work leaves the individual wholly incapable of adapting himself effectively to changing social conditions. To avoid arrest and retrogression, and to insure continued progress in a nation, there must be disseminated among the people the spirit of investigation, and the desire to search after new truth which may lead to more perfect adjustment. While in America we seem to be getting the right ideal, still a study of the schools in either the city or the country will show that there is still much to be desired. In many of our schools, alike of low and of high degree, the teaching lacks vitality and is inclined to be formal, mechanical, and ineffective. Enrichment of the course of study, the professional training of teachers, and the consolidation of country schools are hopeful signs of progress.

All modern nations have made some provision for the care of their helpless and needy members; but the altruistic tendency manifests itself in different ways in different nations. In some countries aid is given to the poor directly, and in a more or less spectacular manner. In other countries the growing tendency is to relieve distress by making the needy intelligent and self-helpful. In this way individual as well as national life is strengthened. While Americans are noted among older nations for their "generous" disposition, they yet have not entirely forgotten to provide means for the poor to become self-helpful through proper education. The principle involved should be more generally appreciated among us, and put into effect more largely in every section of the country. All the schools — elementary, secondary, and higher — should give a prominent place to studies dealing in a vital, concrete way with the fundamental problems in the life of the

nation. Every pupil who leaves school should have gained the idea that no nation can long survive in which a considerable proportion of its population is non-productive from any cause whatsoever.

A study of European nations shows that there is an intimate relation existing between the physical, intellectual, and moral well-being of a people and the attention given to training individual independence and initiative, both in school and in real life. In order to train for individual efficiency, the school must encourage original, dynamic, effective thinking, and not mere faithfulness in verbal memory. But with the development of the attitude of individual freedom and initiative must go strict obedience to established law. In America we are doing more than any other country in making our children individually competent; but there is some danger that they will not learn to conform readily and fully to proper and necessary authority.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATIVE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE[1]

Education and social efficiency

STUDENTS of human nature in all times have urged that deliberate training of some sort is absolutely essential to the fitting of an individual to adjust himself to a complex social environment; nature unaided cannot accomplish all that is demanded in this direction. Every important scheme which has been proposed for the improvement of social and individual life has laid emphasis upon the school as the instrument to be considered at the outset. Plato, the most serious and competent writer on social welfare in ancient times, gave chief attention to education as the means of realizing his ideal community. In his *Republic* and his *Laws* he goes at length into the methods of training children for social efficiency, in respect alike to individual and to civic relations. The same attempt is made by Aristotle in his *Politics*, Plutarch in his *Morals*, Montaigne in several of his works, Locke in his *Thoughts on Education*, Pestalozzi in his *How Gertude Teaches her Children*, Rousseau in his *Emile*, Froebel in his *Education by Development*, Herbart in his *Outline of Pedagogical Doctrine*, Spencer in his *Education*, — and the list might be extended at pleasure.

These students have all appreciated that the need of educational influence to perfect the individual in his social adjustments arises out of the child's inability to adapt himself readily and effectively to all phases of the social

[1] As originally written, the first half of this chapter discussed the influence of physical conditions in the individual upon his social attitudes. But inasmuch as the author has treated this subject in detail in his *Dynamic Factors in Education*, Part II, it has seemed best upon reflection not to do more than mention it here. The whole matter is of supreme importance, however, and the reader is urged to give it his attention if he is not familiar with it.

environment into which he is cast at birth. The newcomer's vision has not been made keen to discern the social goal ahead; his feet have not been practiced to the route; his lungs have been accustomed to a heavier atmosphere. It has been pointed out at length in previous chapters that the child comes to us equipped especially for journeying among a people of quite different temper and customs, and his traveling outfit is in many respects only impedimenta to him under present-day conditions. Plato was impressed by the resemblance which he thought he saw between the child's development and that of the race. Goethe's writings are full of the idea; Herder and Lessing have adopted it; the evolutionists, all of them from Darwin down, have attempted to give it a scientific foundation; Herbart and his followers have made it the basis of an educational system; and it is the fundamental hypothesis of modern educational theory. The young child, according to this view, is on a par with primitive man in his social inclinations and abilities, but he must learn to live among men whose relations are well-nigh infinitely complex, and who must, to a large extent at any rate, assume attitudes of coöperation, instead of those of opposition and aggression.

The chief problem of education regarded from this standpoint consists either in repressing in some manner such of the child's native impulses as are out of alignment with contemporary social practices, or transforming these impulses into tendencies that will bring the individual into harmony with the customs, ideals, and institutions of civilized society. Looking at the matter in a very general way here, we see that in primitive communities egoism, in the crude, narrow sense, is much more prominent than in highly complex societies; and, as we have seen, it is predominant in the young child. In the savage life of the forest the individual fights his own battles largely alone, and advances himself by subjugating or exterminating his fellows. Success under such circumstances requires intense individualistic feelings

and actions; and the point to be noted is that the child begins his journey dominated to a considerable extent by these primitive, self-referring impulses, which set him in hostility to the *alter* in many of their relations; and while he would on his own initiative learn to restrain certain tendencies and to practice others of a more social character in the give and take of daily life, still he would not move rapidly enough or go far enough without special aid being given him by the group of which he is a member, through its agencies established for this particular purpose.

Educative social experience the first requisite

The first principle in social education, indicated alike by experience and by the data presented in preceding chapters, is this: In order to attain most readily and economically to social efficiency, the child must from the very beginning have large experience — real, vital, *educative* experience — in a variety of typical social situations. In this statement it is implied that individuals will differ in respect to the degree of complexity of the social relations they will assume, and so the range of their need and education will be greater in one case than in another; but we speak here of the general principle only. In contrast to the principle as stated, it may be suggested that the learning of rules, maxims, or precepts concerning good behavior will not materially aid the social tyro, unless his learning is preceded, or at least supplemented, by actual practice in adjusting himself effectively to concrete social situations presenting all the factors involved in the adjustments of real life. Just as a course in text-book psychology alone will not give one vital knowledge of human nature, though it may aid him in interpreting what he has seen if he has met people face to face in some of the typical situations of daily life; and as a course in ethics will not of itself develop in the student ethical conduct, though it will be more serviceable for the youth than the child, since the former can in some measure probably interpret the teachings in the light of his experience; so principles setting forth

the results of the experiments of the race in social living cannot yield their wisdom to the novice for the simple memorizing of them, a doctrine which Locke, Rousseau, and all their followers have maintained has universal validity.

It does not seem dogmatic to say that nothing but direct, vital, first-hand relations with his fellows from the earliest years on will furnish a child with concrete data necessary for gaining social insight, and for developing social good will, and a disposition to coöperate with his fellows.[1] In the give-and-take relations of social intercourse the novice may learn under intelligent guidances (*but he must be guided*) what impulses rule the hearts of his comrades, and how he must conduct himself toward them so that all may attain the greatest happiness in the end. In this manner, when aided by some competent person or book or work of art or what not, in ways which we must sketch in succeeding chapters, he acquires in time the feeling of what is the proper thing to be done in social situations. Based on what has been developed elsewhere, it may now be said that it will be of little service to an individual, in the real world of people struggling in innumerable ways for larger life, to have memorized a system of "rules of conduct," if he has not worked such rules out into motor tendencies, and possibly motor habits. It may be noted in this connection that children sometimes are set to learn by heart lessons in man-

[1] Quintilian's advice in reference to the training of the orator applies in principle to the training of every boy for life among his fellows: "First of all, let him who is to be an orator, and who must live amidst the greatest publicity, and in full daylight of public affairs, accustom himself, from his boyhood, not to be abashed at the sight of men, nor pine in a solitary and as it were recluse way of life. The mind requires to be constantly excited and roused, while in such retirement it either languishes, and contracts rust as it were, in the shade, or, on the other hand, becomes swollen with empty conceit, since he who compares himself with no one else, will necessarily attribute too much to his own powers.

"Besides, when his acquirements are to be displayed in public, he is blinded at the sight of the sun, and stumbles at every new object, as having learned in solitude that which is to be done in public." — *The Institutes of Oratory*, vol. i, p. 22.

ners before they go a-visiting; but alas! such lessons count for naught against years of contrary *action*.

It is a matter of common observation that adults often have a sound philosophy regarding their social relations, but their practice is of a different character. In the quiet of one's study, when reflection and not action is required, a person may be able to reach valid conclusions as to what should be done in social crises; but he may not be able to observe these conclusions at the appropriate moment, since what has entered into the functioning of the whole vital mechanism, as it were, is what determines conduct after all. Rules as such may pass in the classroom, where static relations prevail, but they generally drag too heavily in the dynamic world without. Who does not know of brilliant theorists on manners, and conduct in general, who have themselves made dismal failures of this part of life, for the reason that their theories had not become embodied in facile habits, so that they could be depended upon in crucial moments?

The social training of the "only child"

It is generally believed that the only child in a family, reared among adults, rarely becomes a really efficient citizen and agreeable friend and neighbor.[1] If this proposition be a sound one, and observation as well as theory indorses it, it must be due to the fact that the only child does not ordinarily have those give-

[1] Perhaps there is another side to the "only-child" question. If there are several children in the same home there will be a great deal of conflict between them in the effort to secure the same things, and to gain advantages of every kind. They will all wish to use the swing at the same time, or the hammock, or what not. This involves tension and strain and struggle. It arouses all the combative emotions. It is without doubt irritating to the nervous system. I have noticed that some children living in a large family grow quieter and stronger when they are practically left alone for two or three weeks, and so have everything their own way.

But if a child grows up apart from other children and has no struggles, can he learn the lessons of inhibition and sacrifice which are necessary in the great social game? Will he acquire these in emulating his parents as he grows older? Will the egoistic emotions subside with development? Can a parent through lessons on self-restraint develop social conduct, without the

and-take experiences with comrades which develop social insight, and in the long run encourage coöperative action. Usually he grows up in contact mainly with books or with inanimate things; or he may have more or less formal and artificial social relations with his elders, who in dealing with him normally do not play the game as it is played in real life. Adults are prone either to pet a child or rigidly to suppress him, and under such circumstances he is only too apt to develop the characteristics either of the bully or the slave, and in neither case is he learning social lessons as he will need to apply them.[1] The socially efficient person is not a tyrant in his social relations, nor again is he a serf. He plays the game fair; which means that he does not deprive his associates of privileges which he enjoys, and at the same time he resents selfish aggression on the part of any one else. He does not expect to receive more than he gives, nor is he willing to give to those who desire to receive only. Pierre Loti, in the story of his childhood, complains bitterly because he was rigorously excluded from a free life with other boys of his age. He intimates that the training gained in association with aunts and grandmothers exclusively left him without an understanding of people as they manifest themselves in actual life.

In social as in other activities it seems to be the case that hard knocks[2] are often essential to teach the young much of what ought and what ought not to be done in their relations with their fellows, and he who prevents a child from gaining the lesson when he is in a condition to learn it most easily and effectively

Hard knocks are essential to effective learning

irritation which comes from having a number of children of nearly the same age in a family? Experience and theory alike would lead us to answer these queries generally in the negative, though one ought not to be dogmatic about the matter, in view of the present state of our knowledge respecting the effect of various experiences upon mental development.

[1] See an article, "The Only Child in a Family," by E. W. Bohanon, *Ped. Sem.* vol. v, pp. 475 *et seq.*

[2] These "hard knocks" must, of course, be received as a natural consequence of the individual's conduct, and not arbitrarily. The point is discussed in detail later on.

is an unwise teacher. It is as true in social education as in other matters, that one acquires power to do mainly by doing; though as intimated above, when one has had vital experience himself, and is striving to solve problems, he may, under proper conditions, profit by the experience of others, whether gained from personal description, from books, from institutions, or otherwise. The child cannot gain efficiency in insisting upon his rights except by being placed early and continuously in situations where he is aggressed upon by bullies, who keep their places when he asserts himself, and calls to his assistance those who will generally demand fair play of a simple, crude sort at any rate. He can acquire the attitude of self-restraint only by taking lessons therein when he is in competition with his fellows to attain ends which all desire. He can learn to assist his fellows and obtain aid from them only as he coöperates with them in the performance of their tasks, and sees that, as a rule, if he helps them when he is able he will be assisted when he is in need. The principle is that formal instruction, which plays a leading rôle in social education in many places, cannot teach the novice these lessons effectively. Such instruction dissociated from social action is practically fruitless in the child's education.

Present-day tendencies

If one's observation may be trusted, it appears that there is a growing tendency to give children larger opportunities than they formerly had for gaining helpful experience with their fellows while they are in the formative period. Some of us can remember when parents in certain sections of the country thought the young ought most of the time to remain each within his own door-yard. Children were punished if they sought the companionship of their mates except at comparatively rare intervals. But to-day one sees that parents frequently plan to promote social life among their children. The telephone and similar agencies are called into requisition to bring the young together in vital intercourse under a certain amount of direc-

tion, where what is learned counts for much toward social efficiency in maturity.

It should be emphasized that social experience of this sort must be had early, when the individual is plastic, in order to be really educative. When one has reached maturity it is too late to learn vital social lessons with marked success. A child will readily enough change any line of action if he discovers that he will gain thereby, but men and women seek rather to modify the world about them to suit their settled notions and habits. Of the seven ages of man the developmental ones are alone the adaptive ones; maturity is, on the whole, a stable, non-adaptive period; so that we must accomplish most of what we wish in social education, or any other form of education for that matter, before the teens are completed.

Mere gregariousness not enough for social development

While emphasizing the necessity of a wide range of vital social experience for the development of social efficiency, it should at the same time be noted that the individual must have occasions when he may, in isolation, organize his experience, and reflect upon it to some extent. Experience alone, without organization and interpretation, will not yield a high degree of insight. The most gregarious people are not in all cases the most social, in the broad sense in which we are employing this term. In some cases, indeed, mere gregariousness secures only a very inferior order of social development. On the streets of some of the cities of the Old World, as Algiers, Naples, and parts of London and Edinburgh, one may see the gregarious tendency strikingly manifested; but the social tone in these places is lower than in most sections where a certain amount of individuality is preserved, so that people have some part of their lives to themselves. In the cities of our own country, from Boston to San Francisco, one may note the evil results of people herding together, so that there is no opportunity for periods of seclusion and growth in individuality. The group tends often to suppress

variation in expression, and so to limit individual development, unless one's life be so ordered that what is gained in retreat may be deep enough and strong enough to survive even in group aggression.

In the end it will be of advantage to the group if the individuals thereof bring to it contributions arising out of the operation of the personal equation in reaction upon common stimuli. Of course, these contributions must stand the test of group trial and application; but without such a method of growth and expansion, the group would remain on a low plane of social evolution. The principle is that while experience in adjustment to the group is absolutely essential to the learning of serviceable social lessons, still the individual must get a certain amount of his suggestion for social action outside the group in which he is to express his views and inclinations. This is particularly true as development proceeds; the youth must derive a considerable part of his social insight and ideals from history, literature, art, science, and the like. Experience warrants the statement that the educated man, if he be given opportunity to apply his learning concretely in dealing with the group, will ascend higher in social development than the man who has no ideals except such as he gets from the street. Ordinarily the group, as it exists in childhood, is not eager to promote its own social growth. It desires simply that the game in hand should go on uninterruptedly; it takes no thought for the future. This is why the school and the home are so essential to the continuous development of both the individual and the group; but the detailed way in which this assistance may be rendered must be worked out further along.

Our aim in this chapter is to emphasize the necessity of direct, vital intercourse in acquiring social efficiency. Social education must be *dynamic;* static methods of training will leave the individual with verbal knowledge of social conduct, but without inclination or ability to deal with situ-

ations where one's fellows must be aided in their enterprises and sympathized with, and on occasions resented in their aggressions, and disciplined for selfish action. In the effort to realize this dynamic method, we seem to be making progress in one direction. We hear less to-day than we once did about the need of repressing the young in the presence of their elders; about "teaching them their place," which has often meant no place at all; about their never speaking unless first spoken to. These doctrines when put rigidly into practice tend surely to develop either the slave's or the anarchist's feelings and attitudes in the individual. If such a policy be long continued, it seems to establish in one the feeling that he will always be bullied, or else he must be a rebel against authority; that he must be ready to serve in response to the commands of others, or violently to oppose them. The doctrine as taught and sometimes practiced by our forefathers is presented in the *Babies' Book*, in which some among us seem still to have much faith. In addition to numerous other instructions to the young, the book advises them not to chatter or let their eyes wander about the house when their lords (their fathers) address them. And it continues: —

Suppression as a method of social training

> Stand till you are told to sit. Keep your head, hands, and feet quiet. Do not scratch yourself, or lean against a post, or handle anything near. Bow to your lord when you answer. If any one better than yourself come in, retire and give place to him. Turn your back on no man. Be silent while your lord drinks, not laughing, whispering, or joking. If he tells you to sit down, do so at once. Then do not talk dirt, or scorn any one, but be meek and cheerful. If your better praises you, rise up and thank him heartily. When your lord or lady is speaking about the household don't interrupt, but be always ready to serve at the proper time, to bring drink, hold lights, or anything else, and so get a good name. The best prayer you can make to God is to be well-mannered.
>
> If your lord offers his cup, rise up and take it with both hands;

offer it to no one else, but give it back to him that brought it. At noon, when your lord is ready for dinner, fetch him some clean water, hold the towel till he has finished, and do not leave till grace is said. Stand by your lord till he tells you to sit; then keep your knife clean and sharp to cut your food. Be silent, and tell no nasty stories.[1]

Dickens, as doubtless all know, pictured the child-trainers of his day as tyrants, — not only the teachers, but the parents as well. In *Barnaby Rudge* Dickens presents a character in John Willett who illustrates very well the type of person who would suppress all spontaneity in youth; who believes it is the province of children to serve and wait, and not speak until they are spoken to. Willett, who kept the Maypole Inn, had a vigorous son, Joe, who, as he approached young manhood, began to feel the stir of life within him, and he longed for an opportunity to try his wings. But Father John felt that the boy's wings should be clipped; that he himself should be ruler and Joe his abject slave. The father received cordial support in his educational philosophy from the loafers and vagabonds who haunted the inn. On one occasion when a remark was made in the presence of Joe, who ventured to reply, the following scene occurred: —

"Silence, sir!" cried his father.

"What a chap you are, Joe!" said Long Parkes.

"Such an inconsiderate lad!" murmured Tom Cobb.

"Putting himself forward, and wringing the very nose off his own father's face!" exclaimed the parish clerk metaphorically.

"What have I done?" reasoned Joe.

"Silence, sir!" returned his father; "what do you mean by

[1] The objection to the principle of training illustrated in this quotation is that it keeps the child static. It fails to provide opportunity for him to develop his social powers along right lines, while aiming to prevent him from doing undesirable things. It will later be urged that the child must be repressed in respect to some of his actions; but this does not mean that all of his spontaneous tendencies should be negated. The sort of training indicated in the quotation would be suitable in China, where the young are not expected to break in any way with custom.

talking when you see people that are more than two or three times your age sitting still and silent and not dreaming of saying a word?"

"Why, that 's the proper time for me to talk, is n't it?" said Joe rebelliously.

"The proper time, sir!" retorted his father, "the proper time 's no time."

"Ah, to be sure!" muttered Parkes, nodding gravely to the other two, who nodded likewise, observing under their breaths that that was the point.

"The proper time 's no time, sir!" repeated John Willet; "when I was your age I never talked, I never wanted to talk. I listened and improved myself, that 's what I did."

"It 's all very fine talking," muttered Joe, who had been fidgeting in his chair with divers uneasy gestures. "But if you mean to tell me that I am never to open my lips —"

"Silence, sir!" roared his father. "No, you never are. When your opinion 's wanted, you give it. When you 're spoke to, you speak. When your opinion 's not wanted and you 're not spoke to, don't give an opinion and don't you speak. The world 's undergone a nice alteration since my time, certainly. My belief is that there ain't any boys left — that there is n't such a thing as a boy — that there 's nothing now between a male baby and a man — and that all the boys went out with his blessed majesty, King George the Second."

It seems reasonable to say that if Willett wanted to develop in his son the slave's attitude, he pursued the right course to attain his end. Let it be repeated that social efficiency develops only when effective expression occurs; efficiency is a cumulative power, increasing through a long course of experiment, wherein it is discovered that certain lines of conduct will lead to success, while others will turn out unfortunately. The suppressed child might become a good follower, and so he would be well adapted to certain social situations; but he could never become a leader, or even an equal; and so he could hardly fill his proper place in American life. Of course, he must learn to restrain many of his impulses; this is the fundamental need in his education; but

he can acquire this lesson effectively only by having actual experience in observing the unhappy outcome when these impulses are given free rein. Thus his initiative will not be checked; it will simply be guided into proper channels.[1]

The situation in the public schools

The public school as it exists among us is, in theory at any rate, well adapted to train pupils effectively in the fundamental social virtues. Quintilian, like many another since his day, has pleaded strongly for public education, because the boy taught alone never learns thoroughly either himself or his fellows. Now, while the school undoubtedly does aid in social education, as we shall see more in detail presently, still it seems to achieve considerably less than it has set itself to attain. It will be readily granted that the school, as we know it, does accomplish something toward the development of such virtues as industry, punctuality, and quietude; yet even these qualities, so essential to social efficiency, are not always gained in the school so that they can be employed in the most serviceable way in real life.

Moreover, these virtues, taken in connection with all the ideas, feelings, and tendencies that are essential for real efficiency in social relationships, cannot be regarded as of primary importance. Fancy a man who possesses those formal qualities but no others, — who can be silent when he is in the presence of others, who can be punctual, who can keep mechanically at any task that is set him, — if his social

[1] Locke discusses the point involved here in the following manner: —

"If the *Mind* be curb'd and *humbled* too much in childhood; if their *Spirits* be abash'd and *broken* much, by too strict an Hand over them, they lose all their Vigor and Industry, and are in a worse State than the former. For extravagant young Fellows, that have Liveliness and Spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make able and great Men; but *dejected Minds*, timorous and tame, and *low Spirits*, are hardly ever to be rais'd, and very seldom attain to any Thing. To avoid the danger that is on either Hand, is the great Art; and he that has found a Way how to keep up a Child's Spirit easy, active, and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many Things he has a Mind to, and to draw him to Things that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, has, in my Opinion, got the true Secret of Education." — Quick, *Locke on Education*, sec. 46.

powers could be summed up in this list of virtues, would he not be sadly out of tune among dynamic human beings? He could win but little pleasure for himself in association with his kind, and he probably could add but little to the pleasures of others. According to the writer's observations, when children trained in this way do come together in later years they seem ill at ease with one another. They appear to be timid, to be unduly inhibited; in short, to be out of their element. Their faces are often sombre, and their manners reserved and formal. When one gets an opportunity during his formative period to have little but formal relations with those about him, he cannot be expected to be original and fresh and effective with them in maturity.

What is really the most serious phase of the matter, the school with its fixed seats occupying all available space in the room is still based largely upon the ideal of social isolation, a point which Professor Dewey[1] has emphasized strongly. In a school of this type — happily they are not so popular to-day as they were a half century ago — each pupil is expected to prepare his lessons by his own efforts, and recite without coöperation with his fellows, except as they may criticise him for his shortcomings in respect to technical execution. He is not encouraged to seek aid from his classmates or to render them any if he is able so to do. He cannot communicate with any one while in the school, for this is contrary to good government, although desire for communion is the most urgent thing in the child's being. It was pointed out in the first chapter that children cannot normally enjoy any discovery or achievement unless they can share it, or unless some one is made aware of it and shows interest in it, or at least learns of it. And, on the other hand, they cannot be content unless they can participate in all the life about them. Who that has lived with children has not noticed how restless they are until they know what is being

The typical school is modeled on the static plan

[1] See his *School and Society*, especially the first two chapters.

talked about in their presence, what is going to happen, who has done this or that, where father is going, what is his business, and so on *ad libitum*. While it is probable that some check must be put upon this tendency, still it serves a very useful end in the individual's intellectual and social development.[1] Even with the adolescent, as we have seen, the desire for communion is exceedingly strong. The individual must share his accomplishments with others; he must tell the world what he has done, and learn what others have done, too. If this impulse were not dominant in the young soul, how could we have anything like society as we now know it? It seems important, then, that the school should not altogether suppress the tendency to communicate, but should rather *direct* it so that it may not express itself in illegitimate ways. Not prohibition, but guidance, should be the teacher's constant aim. It is only when his communications are an annoyance or a hindrance to his fellows, or when they prevent him from applying himself to more important tasks, that the pupil should be urged to restrain himself.

The fact that a number of children are gathered together in the same room does not insure that they will receive dynamic social training.[2] They may be spatially near

[1] The general psychological principle involved here is discussed in the author's *Education as Adjustment*, chap. x.

[2] "A society," says Professor Dewey (*op. cit.* pp. 27–32) "is a number of people held together because they are working along common lines, in a common spirit, and with reference to common aims. The radical reason that the present school cannot organize itself as a social unit is because just this element of common and productive activity is absent. In the schoolroom the motive and the cement of the social organization are alike wanting. Upon the ethical side, the tragic weakness of the present school is that it endeavors to prepare future members of the social order in a medium in which the conditions of the social spirit are eminently wanting. The mere absorption of facts and truths is so exclusively individual an affair that it tends very naturally to pass into selfishness. There is no obvious social motive for the acquirement of mere learning, there is no clear social gain in success thereat. Indeed, almost the only measure of success is a competitive one, in the bad sense of that term, — a comparison of results in the recitation or in the examination to see which child has succeeded in getting ahead of the

to one another without having vital social relations, except that to be quiet when one is with others, and attend to one's own affairs, is of much importance for social efficiency. Not to be distracted by the crowd is also a useful habit, and this the average school tends to develop. But the real nature of the individual does not manifest itself under a régime of repression, where he works *in vacuo*, as it were, at formal tasks, and so does not temper his will in contest with that of his fellows in the effort to obtain goods which all desire. Really, our methods of school organization and management in considerable part have come down to us from a time when education was thought to consist mainly in the mastery of books. A teacher of the old faith would often prefer to have pupils read about self-restraint than to acquire it by actual experience in the classroom or on the playground. Such teachers fail to appreciate that a system of order which does not proceed largely, though not wholly, from the self-guidance of pupils, in view of the results of their action in adjusting themselves to one another and to established authority, will not endure a severe test in the world when pressure from without is removed. On the other hand, to put the young child's behavior wholly in his own hands must result in chaos, for he cannot wisely utilize such freedom, as we shall try to show at length in later chapters.

The principle advocated above has been partially realized in the kindergarten. Here there is less isolation of individ-

others in storing up, in accumulating the maximum of information. So thoroughly is this the prevalent atmosphere that for one child to help another in his task has become a school crime. Where the school work consists simply in learning lessons, mutual assistance, instead of being the most natural form of coöperation and association, becomes a clandestine effort to relieve one's neighbor in his proper duties. Where active work is going on, all this is changed. Helping others, instead of being a form of charity which impoverishes the recipient, is simply an aid in setting free the powers and furthering the impulses of the one helped. A spirit of free communication, of interchange of ideas, suggestions, results, both successes and failures of previous experiences, becomes the dominating note of the recitation."

uals than in the grades beyond. It is the aim to make all activities coöperative in large part, — to have the children play and work together, and learn to give and to take, to receive benefits and to confer them. The kindergartner, the *wise* kindergartner, is simply the most experienced member of the group, who brings her wisdom to the solution of the perplexing situations which arise in the surpassingly difficult task of children acquiring the ability to live together in the spirit of justice and peace. Such a kindergartner makes prominent the social ideal in all conflicts, and she does not permit it to be obscured by selfishness and passion. She helps her children to discover in their daily adjustments what sort of conduct will yield the largest results in promoting the happiness of all.

The principle partially realized in the kindergarten

It is doubtless true, though, that many kindergartners have overestimated the capacity of the child to derive nourishment from mere abstractions regarding social relations. It is not dogmatic to say that the child of five cannot normally understand or profit by instruction regarding the brotherhood of man, or the love of country, or divine love. He is prepared to take only his first lessons, based on his concrete experiences with his playmates, in the doctrine that he must do unto others as he would be done by. His training will be profitable only as it concerns his direct relations to those immediately about him. He cares nothing about theoretical social conduct. It is to him a matter of indifference whether he ought or ought not to love his country, because his present adjustments do not involve that love in any way. His social interests centre about his home, his school, his street, and they go no further. To talk to him much about these vast generalizations must result in doing him injury in his later social development; for he will grow weary of it all, and when he ought to be hungering for it he will have none of it. Most adults can recall how fruitless in their religious life was the study of the old catechism, and

how often it turned people against the very thing to which it sought to win them, because it presented highly concentrated spiritual nutriment, for which their spiritual digestive organs were not ready.

It has been implied throughout the discussion thus far that social efficiency is not a simple thing to be learned from books, or lectures, or discussions, though these may be made of service if they supplement rather than take the place of more fundamental methods of training. However, it is natural for people to wish to find some easy, definite, cut-and-dried way of attaining ends of a complex character in the education of the child; but we ought not to be led astray in our country by any such desire, considering that we have the experience of older nations as a warning to us in this regard. When men work out an elaborate course in more or less formal instruction in conduct, they readily come to the conclusion that the moral needs of the young will be properly cared for thereby, and they abandon their efforts to solve the more difficult but really vital problems of effective social training. "We will develop social efficiency in our special course, much as we develop musical or artistic ability in special courses"; so they reason. But the experiments of European countries in teaching religion and morals [1] should show our American people that this is largely a fallacious doctrine. But granting that we give due attention to the prerequisites indicated in the foregoing paragraphs, then we may profitably have some specific instruction in respect to social attitudes which should be required of every one. The official programme of topics for the French schools is undoubtedly the best that has been prepared in any country, and it includes all the subjects that could be considered in our American schools, wherein religious instruction is prohibited. This programme (abridged) follows: —

The question of moral instruction

Infant section: ages 5 to 7 years. — Very simple talks mingled

[1] See Farrington, *The Primary Schools of France.*

with all the exercises of the class and of recreation. Simple poems explained and learned by heart; stories, songs. Special care by the teacher in regard to children showing any defect in character or any vicious tendency.

Primary section: ages 7 to 9 years. — Familiar conversations, readings (examples, precepts, parables). Practical exercises tending to moral activity in the class itself: 1. By observation of individual character, the gentle correction of faults, and the development of good qualities. 2. By the intelligent appreciation of school discipline as a means of education. 3. By appeal to the feelings and moral judgment of the child himself. 4. By the correction of vulgar notions, of prejudices, and of superstitions. 5. By instruction drawn from facts observed by the pupils themselves.

Intermediate section: ages 9 to 11 years. — Familiar talks, reading illustrative examples with comments, practical exercises as in the elementary section, but with a little more method and precision.

I. (*a*) The child in the family: Duties toward parents and grandparents: Obedience, respect, love, recognition; aiding parents in their work, tending them in sickness, caring for them in their old age.

Duties of brothers and sisters: Loving each other; watchful care of the elder over the younger; effect of example.

Duties toward servants: To treat them with politeness and with kindness.

(*b*) The child in the school: Earnestness, docility, industry, civility. Duties toward the teacher. Duties toward comrades.

(*c*) The country: Grandeur and misfortune of France. Duties toward the country and society.

II. Duties toward one's self: Care of the body; cleanliness, sobriety, and temperance; dangers of drunkenness; gymnastics.

Use and care of property: Economy; avoiding debts; effects of gambling, prodigality, avarice, etc.

The soul: Veracity and sincerity; personal dignity and self-respect; modesty; recognition of one's own faults; evils of pride, vanity, coquetry, frivolity; shame of ignorance and idleness; courage in peril and misfortune; patience; personal initiative; evils of anger.

Regard for animals: Kindness toward; society their natural protector.

Duties toward other men: Justice and charity; the Golden

Rule; kindness, fraternity, tolerance, and respect for the beliefs of others.

(*Note.* — In all these considerations the teacher should assume the existence of conscience, of the moral law, and moral obligation. He should appeal to the feeling and the idea of duty and of responsibility. He should not attempt to demonstrate these by theoretical statements.)

III. Duties toward God. The teacher is not required to give a course upon the nature and attributes of God. The instruction which he is to give to all without distinction is limited to two points: First, he teaches his pupils not to speak the name of God lightly. He clearly associates in their minds with the idea of the First Cause and of the Perfect Being a sentiment of respect and of veneration, the same as is associated with these ideas under the different aspects of their religious training.

Then, and without concerning himself with the prescriptions special to the different religious beliefs, the teacher will strive to have the child comprehend and feel that the first duty he owes to divinity is obedience to the laws of God, as revealed to him in his conscience and his reason.

Higher section: ages 11 *to* 13 *years.* — Exercises on ideas of previous years continued and expounded; special development of social morality: 1. The family; 2. Society, justice, the conditions of all society; solidarity, fraternity (alcoholism; its destruction little by little of the social sentiments by destroying the power of the will and the feeling of personal responsibility); development of the idea of the native land; the duties of the citizen (obedience to the laws, the military service, discipline, devotion, fidelity to the flag); imposts (condemnation of fraud toward the state); the ballot (it is a moral obligation; it ought to be free, conscientious, disinterested, enlightened); rights corresponding to these duties; Personal liberty, liberty of conscience, liberty in respect to work, in respect to association; of the general security of life and property; the national sovereignty; explanation of the republican motto, "Liberty, equality, fraternity."

Under each head of the course in social morals the teacher should explain clearly, but without entering into metaphysical discussions: (1) The difference between duty and interest, even when they seem to be confounded with each other; that is to say, the imperative and disinterested nature of duty; (2) the distinction between the written and the moral law; the one fixes a

minimum of prescriptions that society imposes upon all its members under definite penalties for violations of the same; the other imposes upon each one in his secret conscience a duty which no one obliges him to fulfill, but which he cannot neglect without the sense of a wrong to himself and to God.[1]

The method of teaching moral principles

A word may be added here regarding the general conceptions which should govern us in discussing these topics with children of different ages. In the first place, it may be impressed through repetition that the child in the kindergarten and primary school cannot possibly by any sort of instruction receive marked benefit from a discussion of his duties to the state, for example, since his experience has not made it possible for him to conceive of the state in a definite way, and much less to realize that he bears any vital relations to it. One may listen to lessons on patriotism given to young children, that not only fail to accomplish any good, but may be of positive harm, since the continual talking about matters which are not appreciated probably dulls the mind for their reception when the individual should be ready for them. In due season every pupil can be made to respond to instruction in civic duties, but not until he can at least glimpse the unity of society, and the responsibilities and duties of its members, considering that each is the recipient of many favors conferred by society as a whole. When the broadening life of the individual enables him to feel these larger relations, then, and not before, is the time to introduce lessons relating thereto. Teachers are apt to assume that because they themselves appreciate the organic character of society, their pupils have the same conception, and can profitably receive instruction in their civic duties. But the average child of eight, say, has and can gain little if any sense of the organic character of society, and the duties and privileges of an individual. However, in due course, by the age of twelve at any rate, it will be possible to develop this

[1] See *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1901, pp. 1124, 1125.

idea clearly in his thought, if he can begin with a very simple community, and see the relations existing between the people therein. Later he should trace how these relations change in certain respects as a community becomes more and more complex. In this way only can he be made to realize how completely his welfare depends upon the conduct of his fellows, and how his every act influences their well-being.

The pupil must be led to see the social necessity for every moral attitude urged upon him

The general principle in question should be worked out a little further. The instruction of pupils in the elementary school must concern their *immediate*, *every-day*, *concrete* relations with their parents, their brothers and sisters, their teachers, the servants, their playfellows, their schoolmates, the aged, the poor, the unfortunate, and so on. If this instruction is made in any way formal or conventional or perfunctory, it will miss the mark altogether; and this is the chief danger when the average teacher attempts to give set lessons in morals. One may hear such lessons given in European schools where, as intimated above, the experiment is being tried on a larger scale than with us, and an observer is likely to feel often that no substantial good results therefrom. Unless a teacher is an expert in this delicate work, he might better not attempt it at all. But if he can, without any artificiality or assumed virtue, and through concrete study and skillful suggestion, lead his pupils to see how they are dependent for practically everything they enjoy upon the people with whom they come in contact, and how vitally they affect others through their behavior, and so what they ought to do and must do if all are to be made most happy, then his instruction will probably take effect for good. From first to last the teacher must found his teaching upon a rational basis. He must guide his pupils to see that there is a sound reason for every act that is demanded of them, whether positively in the performance of altruistic and charitable and patriotic deeds, or negatively

in the suppression of acts that would operate against the well-being of the whole. It may be urged again that our children must be got to feel that all are members of one body, and that no one liveth to himself alone ; every thought and every act has social bearings, so that no one can do " whatever he pleases," except to choose among those lines of conduct that are in accord with social requirements. Of course, the teacher will not attempt the broadest generalizations in this field with young children; it will be time enough to draw them with the senior class in the university. But in every concrete act he discusses he must lead his pupils to discern what ought to be done, because of the influence of the act on the welfare of others.

If this method should be followed throughout the schools, we might succeed in making our pupils *social minded*, which is the great end to be kept constantly in view in moral instruction. If when my pupil leaves my school I shall have got him into the way of thinking and feeling of himself as most intimately related in every thought and deed to the people about him, individually and collectively ; and if I shall have succeeded in developing in him an appreciation of why certain modes of behavior have been insisted upon by the race, and why moral conduct, in the large if not in details, is absolutely essential for the perpetuity of society, and so for the promotion of the well-being of each individual, — if I can equip my pupil with these ideas, and make them effective through appropriate feelings, I shall have done the most I possibly can for him in his moral instruction.

Now, this is what one misses in the moral instruction he observes in many, at least, of the schools. The children learn in an *ex cathedra* fashion how they should conduct themselves at table, say, or on the street, and the like ; but they do not see very clearly why courtesy and self-restraint and similar virtues are absolutely essential. They are left with the impression that they are expected to deport themselves

in certain ways because it is the custom, or is more or less arbitrarily demanded of them by their elders; but whether the custom is rational and so just does not appear. Such instruction fails to take a firm hold on either the intellect or the feelings; and while some good may be accomplished by it, still it is in considerable part fruitless.

Before closing this topic a word should be said regarding special instruction during the critical period of adolescence. Now is the time to make most prominent the reasonableness of honor in all relations of life, and the necessity for altruism, heroism, patriotism, industry, and so on. The skillful teacher can lead any adolescent pupil to see that those nations in which the fundamental moral attitudes are most prominent are the strongest, the most progressive, and the happiest. It can also be made evident that an individual cannot live either a happy or a successful life who does not realize in his own conduct the moral ideals of his times. The *reasonableness* of moral conduct must be made especially prominent with the adolescent; and, too, his moral impulses must be enriched by an abundance of literature in which the moral life is depicted in a concrete, vivid, and attractive way. We need to go carefully over all the world's literature, and determine what is most fruitful in moral suggestiveness for the adolescent.

Moral instruction during adolescence

Particular heed must, of course, be paid to the development in the adolescent of sentiment for the opposite sex, and the necessity of directing the attention away from primary sex activities, through centring it on all the higher manifestations of love, honor, and devotion. We must work in this critical field almost wholly through suggestion; we must keep the mind of youth filled with concrete types of purity, genuineness, heroism, and chivalry of the highest kind, as displayed in all the complex situations of daily life. This is the sort of experience that will count for most in radiating, refining, and idealizing the impulses pertaining to sex. We cannot accomplish a great deal through explicit instruction

regarding the special morality of sex relations; indeed, such instruction has been known to exert a morbid influence upon hypersensitive adolescents. The most effective method of control of wrong action in this field is by utilizing in moral activities the energies which otherwise would nourish such action. It is a question of the direction in which the forces of the organism shall be expended. Mere prohibitive instruction, or even positive instruction which makes ideals prominent, but which leaves the attention unoccupied, and furnishes no strong incentives to wholesome conduct, must prove ineffective in the main. In our country to-day there is danger in some quarters of teachers resting content with more or less formal lessons on the special problems of adolescence, thinking that knowledge alone will inhibit undesirable conduct. Observation of the phenomena of daily life should show any person how false is this doctrine.

Résumé

Students of human nature in all times have urged the necessity of education in developing social efficiency. The need for specific social training arises out of the child's inability to adapt himself readily and effectively to the more vital phases of the social environment into which he is born. The young child seems to be about on a par with primitive man in his social attitudes ; and his education must bring him into harmony with the customs, ideals, and institutions of present-day society. Intense individualistic feelings and actions must be brought under control, and coöperation must largely take the place of original tendencies to opposition and aggression.

Educative experience in a variety of typical social situations is the first requisite. Rules and precepts of social conduct without actual social practice are of little educative value. In crucial moments habits, motor tendencies, and not verbally memorized theories, determine the individual's conduct.

The only child in a family ordinarily does not have the give-and-take experiences with his fellows necessary for the development of social insight and a spirit of coöperation, and hence he rarely becomes a really efficient citizen and agreeable friend and neighbor. Hard knocks resulting from concrete experience in social adjustment are essential to effective learning of ethical and moral principles. Only through give and take in social situations can the novice acquire either self-assertion or self-restraint.

The present-day tendency among us is to give children larger opportunities for gaining helpful experience during the formative period.

The time for vital social education is before maturity is reached. After adolescence the individual becomes relatively stable and non-adaptive.

Mere gregariousness is not sufficient for social development. The individual must have occasions to organize and reflect upon his experience in seclusion. The group tends to suppress individuality beyond a given point. Nevertheless, the group grows in social efficiency through contributions made by individuals who in certain respects are non-conformists. The individual must gain suggestions for social adjustment outside of the group, especially as development proceeds, — from history, literature, art, science, and the like.

Social training must be dynamic ; static methods cannot develop social efficiency. In the effort to adopt dynamic methods, the tendency to-day is toward substituting suggestion and direction for mere suppression. At best, negation carried to the extreme can make of the individual only a follower, never a leader.

The public school, as it exists among us, is of service mainly in the development of certain social virtues of secondary importance, after all, in effective social adjustment. The school is conducted largely on the plan of social isolation. Communication, coöperation, participation are to a considerable extent eliminated. The organization and management of the school should be based primarily on the principle of self-guidance.

The ideal in social training is partly realized in the kindergarten. The aim here is to have children learn, through give-and-take relations with associates, what sort of conduct will best promote the happiness of all.

Specific instruction in morality can only supplement the prerequisite of vital social experience. The child in the kindergarten and primary school cannot receive much benefit from the discussion of civic duties, say. Not until his broadening life enables him to feel these larger relations is he prepared for the reception of civic ideas. For young children there must be no formal, conventional lessons in morals ; such lessons must be based on and grow out of the children's concrete social experience.

The child must be led to see the reason for every act, positive or negative, demanded of him. Pupils should be made to appreciate that all are members of one body. The *reasonableness* of moral laws must be made especially prominent for the adolescent. His moral impulses must be quickened and enriched by the best literature depicting moral life in a concrete and attractive way. The mind of the youth should be kept filled with concrete types of purity, genuineness, heroism, and chivalry of the highest kind. Not prohibition nor even positive instruction, but rather keeping the attention occupied in the right way, is the thing of prime importance at this time.

CHAPTER XII

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

THE tendency of grown people to deal with an infant in the light of their own adult experiences is indicated, among other ways, by the significance they attach to his expressions of dissatisfaction with the course of events in his daily life. The mother is always sorely afflicted whenever she is herself moved to tears, and she instinctively feels that the same must be true of her child. Most of us think we should, as a rule, do everything in our power to give comfort to an adult in distress, and we tend, more or less subconsciously, to treat the infant in a similar manner whenever he shows signs of discomfort. It is quite disturbing to many adults, particularly those who are relieved from a life of hard, crude labor in the struggle for physical existence, to hear a babe crying, for they feel it must be suffering severely; and they will go to great lengths to ease his burdens whenever he utters a note of disquietude. Governesses will fly to his cradle, and respond to his lamentations with soothing tones and caresses, no matter what may be the cause of his protestations. In a large proportion of modern urban homes, a woman is engaged to give herself wholly to the service of the child, and she must be ever ready to do his bidding. It is important for the reader to appreciate that it is not the duty of this caretaker to *train* the child so much as to *serve* him. Unhappily, as we have already seen in preceding chapters, the child will normally take undue advantage of those whom he can command, — not purposefully, or maliciously, of course, but instinctively. Elsewhere it has been intimated that every child is a bully by birth; which means that it is his ambition to secure all desirable things and privileges for himself, without due re-

The infant's reactions upon his social environment

gard for the feelings and rights of others. The child is, not reflectively but impulsively, an egoist, using this term in the popular sense. He is not "to blame" for his selfishness; he is simply constructed so that he struggles incessantly to add to his own pleasures, and he makes use of every one who, as he thinks, can help him to attain his ends.

The child is adept in the employment of effective artifices to induce others to serve him. Few mothers or nurses in present-day urban life, when the sensibilities have become so acute, can long resist the squalling of a vigorous and "determined" child. Sooner or later, if he be persevering, his caretakers will yield to his entreaties. An angry, or even a "spunky" child, who expresses his feeling vocally, is very trying to the nerves of most adults in these days, except people with rather primitive susceptibilities; and it is instructive to observe the effect upon his trainers of this forceful method of coercion. Many children, making their first trials in intimidation, manifest a persistency in their efforts, and a mastery of a wide range of coercive measures in the face of an obstinate environment, which, viewed from one standpoint, are worthy of great admiration. Even the untaught and inexperienced child is a real expert in the art of *teasing* for what he wishes. Nature has equipped him with means for practicing this mode of compulsion, which give him extraordinary power in influencing the people who determine his welfare. There is a subtle force in an indefatigable child's importuning, which strikes into the vitals of the hesitating adult; and if the latter does not put an end to the teasing without delay, the chances are he will capitulate if the siege is long continued.

The child as an expert in coercing his caretakers

In saying that the child's squalling is insignificant, it is not intended to imply that it is not of service in arousing those who hear it, and enlisting their sympathy; but it does not necessarily denote that the child is in real need. Doubtless the instinct to cry upon slight provocation is a more or less rudimentary trait, lasting over from a time when there

were not so many incitements to the child's curiosity and desire for novel experience as there are in modern complex society. When life consisted mainly in a struggle for physical survival, and the child's wants were confined to the securing of food and protection from physical pain, then his crying might have been properly adjusted to his actual necessities; — it might have been truly significant. Further, in primitive life adults are not so sensitive to the needs of the young as they are in modern society, so that in those times it required more vigorous and frequent appeals from the child to stimulate his caretakers to give him proper attention than it requires in modern society. Under present-day conditions, then, when adults have more leisure than of old, and have become highly sensitized to expressions of pain or desire in any form, the child's demonstrations, suited to other times, tend normally to produce reactions out of all proportion to their importance. And here appears one of the most serious problems in social education; in a highly responsive society the sympathies (and also the irritations) of adults are likely to be too easily aroused by the young in many of their expressions. In simple terms, the young child wants everything he sees, and the tendency of the adult (not all adults, but the type increases in numbers as the race develops) is to yield to him so that he may not be "unhappy," or so that he may cease his persecution.

Misinterpretation of childish expression

It is unquestionably within reason to say that back of much of the untrained child's squalling there is nothing at all serious, of either a physical or a mental character. In the case of an adult there is normally a very complex inhibiting mechanism, established by experience and formal education, against the shedding of tears, and he must feel deep and distressing emotion or keen physical pain in order that the "floodgates of the soul" may be opened. But in the young child there are none of these subjective restraints; all he knows is to "let go" upon slight disagreeable stimulation, usually an ex-

pression of appeal, protest, or disapproval. The crying process in the infant is all ready to be touched off at any moment by any sort of unfavorable experience. It is to a large extent a reflex, and therefore practically an unmeaning affair, though it may stir up unhappy emotions in the child if it be allowed to continue for an indefinite period.

It should be evident that the child who continually succeeds in his pleading and coercing is a subject for pity rather than congratulation. As his range of contact and activity enlarges, his desires increase, of course; and not having experienced limitations to his demands, he feels that every one must serve him. He has not learned to serve himself, and so he has not become resourceful or self-reliant. His nurse and mother and governess have ministered to his needs constantly; and why should not all persons do the same? So the child who has always "had his own way" anticipates that he will always have it in the future. This is a simple but vastly important principle of human nature; what has been characteristic of one's experience in the past will be expected to continue to be characteristic of it in the future. If any adult is obstinate or negligent, a "tantrum" will bring him to time. Tantrums come "naturally" to children; but they are not apt to endure long unless the actor finds that they take well. The child is just an experimenter with methods of gaining his egoistic ends; and whatever will bring the desired result most speedily and effectively is the thing to practice most frequently, of course. This is based upon a perfectly normal and fundamental principle of human nature, which determines our activities at every period of life.

How the child is encouraged in his coercive tendencies

Experience and theory alike indorse the proposition that a child of five, say, will not normally fly into a passion whenever he is opposed in his designs unless he has been from his earliest months encouraged (not intentionally, of course, but nevertheless effectually) in this method of ren-

dering the people about him amenable to his control. When the child is learning how he must adjust himself to people, and what is the most effective way of rendering them submissive, he discovers, let us say, that if he throws himself angrily on the floor and screams at the top of his voice when his mother resists his importunities, the latter will in due course relent, and do whatever he commands. Now, it is entirely "natural" that he should resort to this method of coercion whenever he is resisted by any one. Nature bids him to get what he wants, and to be keen in detecting the best method of accomplishing his ends.

In modern social life the display of rage, as just mentioned, is especially prominent, since we are passing through an era of child training by governesses. In the great majority of cases of angry conflict between a child and his governess, the mother will be disturbed when she hears screaming in the house, and she will come to the rescue of the little rebel. Thus the bullying tendency is deepened in the child, and it is not long before it extends to persons outside the nursery. Let any inexperienced person study the régime of a present-day nursery, and note how frequently a youngster may be heard saying to his nurse or mother, "If you don't give it to me, I'll yell," or "I'll kick the floor," or "I'll not eat my supper," and so on *ad libitum*. If social life were more simple than it is, so that the child might desire but relatively few things, this bullying attitude of his might not be a serious disadvantage to him or to his associates; but it is otherwise with most of the children whom we must train. If the individual does not learn early to be satisfied with some small portion of the vast variety of objects in his environment, he can scarcely escape constant conflict with those who attempt to train him. Moreover, his own nervous energy will be wholly inadequate to sustain him in all his demands, unless he discovers early that he must restrain himself in his acquisitive passion. Ill-trained children in modern urban communities are to a considerable

extent in a condition of nervous overstrain;[1] their lives are pitched in too high a key, in the sense that they are called upon to respond to a complexity of stimulation quite beyond their energies. They do not sufficiently feel the checks to desire and its gratification which alone can keep response within the bounds set by the normal supply of vital force.

Individual differences in the non-conforming disposition

While all children find it easy to practice the arts of compulsion as indicated above, yet some employ them more persistently and effectively than others. Two brothers, apparently trained in exactly the same way, may be cited to illustrate different types in this respect. One, J., adapts himself quite readily to the people about him. The primitive impulse to "have his own way" is in him, but it does not assert itself with great rigor on all occasions against the action of father, mother, teacher, and companions. This boy will often accept suggestions without much protest, and he will not lose himself in a rage if his demands are not always acceded to. J. "teases" to a certain extent when those in authority refuse his requests, but he does not often keep at it for a long period until he irritates all who may be near him and becomes fatigued himself. It is comparatively easy for him to abandon any particular thing he desires and become satisfied with a substitute.

But it is very different with the second boy, H. He must have his own way on all occasions, or he will make things "warm" for everybody within reach. When he is blocked in the attainment of his desires his vocal, facial, and bodily expressions all reveal intense feeling of resentment, and he remains in this attitude until he either attains his ends or becomes utterly fatigued. As a consequence he has, up until his ninth year, bullied most of those appointed to exercise authority over him. It is probable that as a matter of natural endowment his primitive aggressive and non-

[1] The author has discussed this matter in detail in his *Dynamic Factors in Education*, Part II.

conforming tendencies are more persistent and urgent than in the case of his brother; but, in addition, his training has been well calculated to develop whatever he may have inherited in this respect. He was especially attractive as a baby, and this characteristic insured him indulgence in his aggressions, which would not have been tolerated in a child of less æsthetic mould.

The child's winsomeness often a disadvantage

It is in some respects a disadvantage to the practice of a rational educational régime in modern society that the young child is so winsome as he usually is. If he did not appeal so strongly to adults they would not so readily yield to his coercion, and it would doubtless in the majority of cases be better for him in the end.[1] Most grown persons seem to find a certain amount of pleasure in observing an infant assert himself; they apparently think it is quite a joke that a tiny thing should show so much spirit, and thus they unwittingly encourage his rebellious and bullying attitudes by rewarding him with their smiles when he aggresses in any way upon those about him, or resists the imposition of authority. Of course, no physical harm can come to any one from the child's aggressions during the first two or three years, when he is helpless; but when he reaches the age of eight or nine, an altogether different situation arises. He may proceed at ten on exactly the same principle as he did at two; but instead of his expressions being received with smiles they are now returned with blows, because he

[1] "Those therefore that intend ever to govern their Children, should begin whilst they are *very little*, and look that they perfectly comply with the Will of their Parents. Would you have your Son obedient to you when past a Child; be sure then to establish the Authority of a Father *as soon* as he is capable of Submission, and can understand in whose Power he is. If you would have him stand in awe of you, imprint it in his *Infancy;* and as he approaches more to a Man admit him nearer to your Familiarity; so shall you have him your obedient Subject (as is fit) whilst he is a Child, and your affectionate Friend when he is a Man. For methinks they mightily misplace the Treatment due to their Children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but severe to them and keep them at a distance when they are grown up." — Locke, *Education* (Quick), sec. 40.

seriously interferes with the privileges and pleasures of others. Herein appears the real problem of child training in the majority of American homes. The child tends to acquire certain attitudes toward his social environment during the first two years of his life that he cannot possibly continue during his maturity, without incessant storm and stress for himself and his associates, and especially his trainers. As he grows older the parent, the teacher, and the community are in frequent conflict with him in the effort to resist his predatory ambitions, or to undo what was more or less thoughtlessly, but nevertheless thoroughly, established in the beginning.

Does this mean that the child for his own good should be dealt with severely during his early years? It has been already said that a child normally exhibits social and desirable as well as anti-social and undesirable traits; and if his trainers should from the start reward the former with their caresses, while manifesting in an explicit manner displeasure at the latter, he would be aided in learning rightly to appraise different kinds of actions. The only way a child can discover that certain sorts of conduct are wrong is that they are effectively resented by the people about him. He sees that they turn out ill for him, so they must be abandoned.

It seems apparent that, speaking generally, a child will be far happier in the end if he is from the beginning resisted in his wrong-doing, rather than if he is allowed, for the sake of immediate peace, to continue in his erring ways. A child has a right to be brought up under a vigorous régime, in which a clear line of demarcation is made between what is good and to be indulged, and what is evil and to be avoided. Children who develop under such a regimen are unquestionably much happier than those who are trained under a system in which there is no explicit distinction between actions of varying values. In speaking in this manner it is not intended to attach great value to the direct prohibition of wrong action, and espe-

Conformity essential to individual or social well-being

cially not the suppression of spontaneity in the attempt thus to prevent wrong conduct by placing a penalty on action of every sort.[1] Certainly the best results in training will be obtained if chief stress is laid upon desirable conduct, a point which requires a separate chapter for its proper consideration. But it may be said here that we must encourage the child in every way we can in the performance of social actions. We must endeavor to make right conduct attractive, so that it will claim his attention and determine the flow of his energy. That is to say, the method of training must be positive, not negative to any considerable extent; though it probably is impossible to avoid a minimum amount of conflict with the average child who is expressing himself in all directions, and whose impulses will be urgent in wrong as in right directions, until the energy which supports them is drafted into other channels, according to processes sketched elsewhere.

Of the classic writers on Education, Locke more than any other believed in the prophylactic value of resistance to the child's aggressive and coercive tendencies in the early years, until he acquired the attitude of ready submission to the will of parent or teacher or other person in authority. We may glance at his view here, with indorsement of the essential principle involved, though we shall later bring the principle of positive education into greater prominence than Locke has done. He goes on to say[2] of the training of children: —

A Compliance and Suppleness of their Wills, being by a steady Hand introduc'd by Parents, before Children have Memories to retain the Beginnings of it, will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them, as if it were so, preventing all Occasions of struggling or repining. The only care is, that it be begun early,

[1] The present writer, in his *Dynamic Factors in Education*, Part I, has discussed at length the active nature and needs of childhood and youth, and the absolute necessity of providing opportunities for the indulgence of their dynamic tendencies, so that he does not fear that he will justly be accused of urging a mere static, prohibitive system of training.

[2] Locke, *Education* (Quick), p. 29.

and inflexibly kept to 'till *Awe* and *Respect* be grown familiar, and there appears not the least Reluctancy in the Submission and ready Obedience of their Minds. When the *Reverence* is thus once established (which it must be early, or else it will cost Pains and Blows to recover it, and the more the longer it is deferr'd), 't is by it, still mixed with as much indulgence as they make not an ill use of, and not by *Beating*, *Chiding*, or other *servile Punishments*, they are for the future to be govern'd as they grow up to more Understanding.

New times bring new problems in social training

It has already been intimated that there are conditions in modern life which render the carrying out of these principles exceptionally difficult. To begin with, the demands upon the time and energy of women, in urban communities especially, have become so pressing that some mothers are compelled to place their children's training in the hands of a hired substitute, while other mothers have no choice but to turn their offspring on to the street. Leaving aside for the present the problem of social training on the street, we may take up again the question of the function of the governess in social education. It is not too much to say that we are, in our cities at any rate, going extensively into the business of rearing governess-bred children. Doubtless in some respects this is of advantage in social training; the governess often relieves the mother so that she may touch the social life outside, and bring its lessons back to her children. But this régime has serious limitations. In the unsympathetic, mechanical, resourceless governess the young will have an uninspiring taskmaster, and such an one will develop antagonistic impulses in her charges. The children in *The Golden Age*, *The Would-Be-Goods*, *The Treasure Seekers*, and similar accounts of normal child-life, are continually expressing the antipathy they feel for this sort of person, and they are ever plotting to resist her authority. Is not this a good introduction to resistance, or at least indifference, to the established order in society later on?

But there is another type of governess, one who goes to

extremes in kindness, — *sentimentalism* is a more appropriate term. She will do everything for a child that he may not become offended at her. She will bear all insults from him; she will endure all bullying; in short, she will be his obedient servant on all occasions. She will be inclined to coax and pet and flatter him, and this will lead the young autocrat to assume a wrong attitude toward people in general; for it is inevitable that the child who acquires the habit of browbeating his governess will try to make his methods work with every one else. The interest of the governess in the child is really for the moment, not for eternity; she desires things to move on to-day with as little friction as possible, and thus she develops friction, as it were, for the morrow. Herein lies the chief source of mischief in all training by those whose responsibility is for the hour only. They do not keep in view the whole span of the individual's life, and so they do not take into account the remote effects of their methods.

Then, when the authority to settle finally questions of conduct is located in some person other than the one who habitually deals with a child, there is certain to be trouble ahead. The tendency of the child when resisted is always to pull away from the person who is dealing with him, and petition higher powers to protect him or to aid him in his resistance or aggression. As intimated elsewhere, a parent who comes upon a scene of conflict between a child and his trainer will usually sympathize with the former. It is, of course, a matter of instinctive response mainly; reflection generally plays no part in such a situation. Adults tend to side with the weaker individual in any contest; and then the child is so demonstrative in his expressions, while the trainer is comparatively calm and inexpressive, that the bystander can with difficulty avoid feeling that the former must be the aggrieved individual. In modern society adult sentiments are exceedingly responsive to tears and other expressions of discomfort, and in a more or less irrational way we take the

part of the rebellious or aggressive child as against his trainer, provided we come on the scene when the conflict is in progress, and do not appreciate all the circumstances leading up to it.

So it is well-nigh impossible to secure effective social education where the person who is charged with the care of children does not feel absolutely free to deal with them in the manner required to develop in them respect for and ready compliance with social law. The trainer must feel that he has final authority; that there can be no appeal; and the child must realize this, so that he will not be in a resistant attitude, thinking he can gain the assistance of some one higher up. When the parent, or principal of a school either, delegates the training to a governess or a teacher, and then reserves for himself the right of enforcement of rules of conduct when there is conflict, only disharmony and inefficiency can ensue. One who puts the education of his children in the hands of another must refuse absolutely to interfere for the time being; in no other way can teacher and pupil be put into the right attitude toward one another, so that the latter may grow in ready observance of social regulations, expressed or implied in his daily adjustments.

Dispersed authority renders good social training impossible

On account of its importance the principle under discussion is worthy of much emphasis, and so we may look at it from another standpoint. The presence about the child of many adults who claim some rights in his training renders it difficult to deal with him effectively, because of the sentimental attitudes of mere onlookers in cases of conflict. Here arises a situation, let us say, where a teacher thinks a pupil needs to be disciplined. A bystander who has not participated in the events from the start is not likely to have any of the feelings appropriate to the occasion. If the child now be penalized in any way, and if he appeals to this third person, the latter's sympathies will be stirred, and he can hardly prevent expressing them in the child's favor. So the latter becomes confirmed in the

notion that he has been unjustly treated, and thus all the virtue of his discipline has been lost. Unless the entire social environment interprets the moral law in any situation in the same way without hesitancy or qualification, the child cannot gain the idea of its rightfulness and inevitableness, which is essential for healthful social development. Unhappily this principle is frequently not observed in either the home or the school.

In this connection it may be pointed out that children are really happier and receive better training when the adults about them are at work, and they are themselves at play, than when persons are specially provided to serve and to entertain them. In popular terms a child's nature will not endure being entertained without being spoiled. Adults may plan a course of action for the child; they may give him materials to work with; but then they must retire and let things work themselves out. There is no doubting the fact that a mother doing her own work with a half-dozen children about her often gives them more effective social lessons than does she who has but one child, but who keeps a retinue of servants to attend to his "needs," as though he had any real need but opportunity to do for himself. A child can hardly learn obedience readily from people paid to teach it to him as a matter of principle. The only justification for obedience, and the only consideration which makes lessons in obedience really effective, is that the necessary work of the home or school may be accomplished without unnecessary disturbance to any one. But if there is no work being done by those who deal with the child he will be governed accordingly, though he may for a time, for prudential reasons, conform outwardly to rules and regulations, the necessity for which is never deeply impressed upon him.

This will be the best place, perhaps, in which to speak of the general attitude of the home and the school toward the child. It is becoming fashionable in educational circles to say that the school should be modeled after the home.

"The teacher should be a mother to her pupils" is a popular sentiment of the hour. Doubtless this sentiment is at bottom a wholesome one; it stirs in teachers the kindlier feelings toward their children, and inclines them to take the point of view of the individual child. In an older day the teacher was perhaps too remote from his pupils; he sometimes thought it was his mission to terrorize and coerce them, rather than to win and to guide them. The lines of pupils have apparently fallen in pleasanter places in these times; but is there any danger of the modern school losing some of those characteristics which in the past differentiated it from the home, and made it more or less impressive to the pupil? The home is an effective educational agency only in a quite restricted sense. Children in the home are not disposed to apply themselves to the larger social tasks except in a very general way. Much of what they gain in the home is likely to be of immediate value only; they are not on the whole in an assimilative attitude toward a large part of that which will be of service in the complex situations of mature life. Children who are taught to read, write, spell, and cipher in their homes have to be literally driven to their tasks. The environment of the home strongly urges the child to more general and lively activities than are involved in mastering much of what the school must put him in possession of. Try to imagine a mother of forty children teaching them in the home all the detailed knowledge and art which they must acquire in order to adjust themselves effectively to modern complex life. Most mothers have their hands more than full when they attempt to teach even one child. And the chief difficulty is that the child's attitudes toward his mother and everything in his home have in a measure unfitted him for the sort of effort demanded of him in mastering a large part of what the school must teach.

The home and the school

When the child goes to school he must, as a matter of fact, assume a somewhat different attitude toward the life

there from that which he has assumed toward the activities of the street and the home, so that for the time his extra-school interests may be suppressed, and he may put himself in a docile frame of mind toward the interests and activities of the school. In the home the child is more or less of a boss, in a good sense; that is to say, he is striving constantly to carry out his own plans, and make his conceptions potent in the world. But in the school he must be more of a learner; he must respect the teacher, and keep himself always in an assimilative relation toward her. So she must seem a trifle remote from him, and the whole life of the school must tend to awaken a feeling of high regard in him. It must not seem too familiar, or ordinary. There must be some impressive ceremony in the school, so that the child may feel that it is distinguished from all his outside life. This sort of thing can be carried too far; but it is a serious mistake to have none of it. When one seeks to develop a respect for anything, he must remove it a little from the merely ordinary; even adults are influenced in their attitudes toward institutions by a certain amount of appropriate ceremony. This is one reason why there is pomp and ceremony in every community at commencement season, and properly so. Young children are particularly in need of visible signs which suggest greatness and worth, to give dignity and significance to the things they must assimilate. So while making the school like the home in the matter of its regard for the individual child's nature and needs, we must nevertheless differentiate it from the home, and make it of such a character that the moment the child comes under its influence he will spontaneously assume a docile attitude toward all its activities.

True sympathy for childhood

Our discussion has led us inevitably to the question, what, after all, is true sympathy for childhood? This term appears to be used more frequently than any other in present-day educational speech and writing. Parents and teachers are constantly exhorted to be

sympathetic with their charges; sympathy, we are told, is the essential requisite in child training, alike in the home and in the school. Without it all one's instruction falls upon arid soil, and the instructor becomes as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. We hear it said that childhood must be loved and nurtured; it must be soothed in its troubles, and aided in every way to carry forward its own enterprises. Froebel, more than any one else perhaps, has been instrumental in developing our modern respect and even reverence for child-life. Dickens should doubtless be next mentioned; and then follows a long list, — Montaigne, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Spencer, and a vast number of contemporary men and women. As a result of the labors of these great teachers, childhood is no longer regarded as a *preparatory* period in life, as an epoch of mere helplessness and immaturity, to be passed over as speedily as possible. The child is not simply getting ready to live; he is living in as real and vital a sense as he ever will live. His thoughts and feelings, his desires and ambitions, his doubts and beliefs, — all are entitled to equal consideration with those of the adult. They must not be ignored as things of mere transitory value, nor should we attempt to supplant them by the views and ideals and feelings of maturity. It is this consciousness, so marked in our own day, of the importance of the period of childhood, together with the growing refinement in feeling and sensitiveness to pain, that has given rise to our present belief that sympathy is the most necessary quality in the teacher and the parent.

And what do people have in mind when they speak of a sympathetic attitude toward the young? Not so much *insight* into the tendencies and needs of a developing being as a *willigness to serve him*, to "make him happy," to assist him in attaining his childish desires. Sympathy in the large sense may mean an appreciation of another's point of view, and an understanding of the motives lying back of his actions, without simulating all his pains and pleasures; or it may

mean simply the sharing of another's joys and sorrows as outwardly revealed. It is in this latter sense that many teachers and parents are to-day striving to be sympathetic. One may go into homes and schools where he can see the child as the central figure, himself determining largely the trend of events; while the adults are taking their cue from him, keeping always a "sympathetic" attitude toward him, rejoicing with him in his successes, praising him for his achievements, and lamenting with him in his failures. Such adults conceive that the child is happiest and gets the most out of life when he plays the leading rôle all the time, and when they follow on behind, aiming to augment his pleasures and to diminish his pains by participating in all of them with him.

Leadership is what is needed in home and school

It seems highly probable that this view of sympathy, and the practice of it in home and school, is likely to be the cause of some harm in modern education. In the light of all that has gone before, it may here be said more or less dogmatically that what the child needs above all else from his parent and teacher is *leadership*. The happy and the fortuuate child of any age is the one who is much of the time at least in the presence of leaders, not followers or flatterers. The child does not crave, nor does he need, sentimental sympathy, if one may so speak. Observe the persons whom children, old or young, most enjoy; whom they choose as companions. They are always those who can *show them how to do things*, who can help them to achieve tasks, and not simply make a demonstration over them when they succeed upon their own initiative. Children do not enjoy most those who tend to pet them and caress them and gush over them; they prefer those who can perform feats with them and who can teach them new tricks. Even the infant appraises *doing* above *fondling*, and he will select as his favorite out of all those in his environment the one who can help him best to see and to handle the world around him. The young child does not evalute highly affec-

tion which expends itself in mere personal expression, no matter how ardent or demonstrative it may be. Indeed, he is often annoyed by such expressions. Of course, we all wish our associates to appreciate our attainments; but we care relatively little for the appreciation of those who lack skill and leadership themselves. The boy wants the approval of the man who can do things himself, — who can pitch a curved ball, or sprint a half mile in record time, or hit the bull's-eye, or do with skill and efficiency anything else in which the boy is interested. Children of all ages admire power, capacity, skill, courage, *leadership*, and they will give their allegiance to one who possesses these traits.

The principle applies in the schoolroom as well as outside. The pupil is not much influenced by mere sentimentality in his teacher. He really does not care for lamentations over his misfortunes; what he wants is to be shown a way to avoid them in the future. He may not be the best teacher of algebra, say, who *feels* with and for his pupils most; they are not seeking for personal expression of any sort. They are searching for light, and he who can most skillfully turn their eyes toward it is the one who has real sympathy for them. True sympathy in a teacher does not exhaust itself in feeling; it seeks to help the pupil to overcome his difficulties most effectually and economically. Again, it does not concern itself too much with the pupil's transient emotional states; rather it studies his problems and shows him how to solve them most readily.

Recently a teacher was observed endeavoring to lead a child into a mastery of the art of arts. He had his trials, as all pupils have; but his own estimate of his difficulties was augmented by the teacher's "sympathetic" expressions. She had little skill in helping the novice over the obstacles in his path, and as a consequence of her over-active emotions he was losing rather than gaining ground. The pupil had no deep affection for his teacher, because she was not aiding him in a strong way to solve his problems. This teacher

should have thought more about acquiring insight and power, and less about being sympathetic in a sentimental sense. Indeed, such terms as *strength*, *capability*, *mastery* need to be made more prominent in present-day educational talk and writing; we have too much emphasized mere feeling without skill and leadership.

The point to be impressed is that at every period of life an individual is struggling to achieve things beyond his present attainments. Each age has its characteristic ideals; but whatever these may be, the individual is always striving forward and upward. And the people who influence him deeply, and whom he likes, are those who can help him to get what he is after. Sooner or later he will come to despise those who simply dance to his music, or who are too anxious about the state of his feeling. Even if a man is outwardly more or less rough and indifferent to our peculiar experiences, we still attach ourselves to him if he can tell us how to surmount our difficulties, and get a firmer grip on the world. Even children in school do not have high respect for the teacher who permits his feelings to make him "easy"; they realize that the man who will do them the most good is the one who will hold them up to their best efforts. We wish our teachers to strengthen our own weak wills, and fortify our resolutions, else we must fall by the wayside. Our teachers must keep their eyes on the goal to be attained rather than on us, taking undue account of our every mood. A surgeon who would listen to his patient's tales of woe, and whose feelings would be much influenced thereby, would not be of great service in alleviating human misery. He must rather keep in view the end to be achieved, and move steadily toward it in the most effective manner. The principle applies as well to the teacher and to the parent.

What has been said is not to be interpreted as excluding feeling from the schoolroom; far from it. But feeling must be subordinated to insight and power and leadership. Given

these latter qualities in the teacher, there will be little danger that sentiment will become too active; but lacking these qualities, an excess of emotion will do more harm than good in the social training of the child.

Résumé

Most adults are inclined to interpret the expressions of infants in the light of their own experience, which usually results more or less disastrously in the social training of the individual. The child is an expert in the art of teasing. The cry in infancy is mostly reflex; it is a rudimentary trait, lasting over from the time when the struggle for physical survival was the dominant thing in life. In modern society the child's demonstrations tend normally to produce reactions on the part of adults out of all proportion to their importance.

The bullying tendency, inborn in the child, is preserved and extended by letting him always "have his own way." The child should, for his own welfare as well as for that of his associates, learn early to restrain his desires, and be satisfied with a portion of all the varied objects in his environment. Ill-trained children in modern life endeavor to respond to too many sorts and too great a complexity of stimulations; consequently they are, as a rule, in a condition of nervous overstrain.

Children differ in their persistency in practicing the art of coercion of those in authority over them. This is due in part to a difference in native aggressiveness, and in part to a difference in training.

Because of his winsomeness, adults in modern society are apt to yield readily to the child's coercions. This but encourages him in his nonsocial attitudes. A child's social and ethical attitudes should from the beginning be encouraged in every way; while his anti-social, and therefore undesirable, traits should be effectually resented, so that he may acquire the data for properly appraising different kinds of actions. Not the direct prohibition of wrong conduct, but the stimulation of social action is the really vital method of training. Right attitudes must be made attractive; this is the first law in social education.

The unsympathetic, mechanical, resourceless governess is an uninspiring taskmaster, and she is likely to develop in her children resistance to rather than observance of social regulations. On the other hand, the governess who goes to extremes in kindness is apt to cultivate in her charges the native tendency to bully. Effective social education cannot be secured unless the trainer takes account of the attitudes of his children in maturity rather than at the moment. Further, he must have final authority to deal with those whom he trains, so as to develop in them respect for and ready compliance with law. The entire social environment must interpret the social law in any situation in the same way, or the child will not gain the idea of its rightfulness and inevi-

tableness; which idea is absolutely essential for right social development.

Adults may plan a course of social action for the child, but in order really to possess himself of it he must work it out dynamically in adjustment to his comrades and those in authority. The only justification for obedience, and the only consideration which makes lessons in obedience effective, is its necessity for the accomplishment of work at home or at school. Obedience for its own sake is hard to develop in children.

The home is an effective educational agency in only a limited way, since the environments thereof are not generally suited to beget a docile attitude on the part of children. A certain amount of formality and ceremony is necessary in school in order properly to impress pupils. The school should be like the home in that it should respect the individual child's nature and needs; but it should nevertheless be of such a character as to induce in its children a learning, assimilative attitude toward all its activities.

Modern educational thought is permeated with expressions of tenderness toward child-life. As a result of the labor of such teachers as Froebel, Dickens, Montaigne, Locke, Rousseau, Spencer, and others, the period of childhood is no longer considered to be a preparation for life, but a part of life. " Sympathy " has become the dominant word in present-day educational expression. But sympathy for children should not mean sharing their joys and sorrows so much as helping them to develop soundly. The child needs, above everything else, *leadership* in his parents and teachers. True sympathy seeks to help the pupil to overcome his difficulties, whatever they may be, most effectually and economically.

CHAPTER XIII

COÖPERATION IN GROUP EDUCATION

In a preceding chapter it was urged that social lessons can be learned effectively only when the learner has varied experience in the typical social situations of daily life, from which the inference was drawn that the first concern of the parent or the educator must be so to arrange his programme that his pupils may be brought into vital contact with one another under *educative influences*, the full implications of which will be indicated as we go on in our discussion. In this chapter attention may be called to the ways in which children in their group activities train themselves in respect to certain desirable social attitudes, without control from outside agencies. And to introduce the matter with a concrete instance, typical in essential features of a vast number that might be cited: Recently five children were observed playing together in jumping on a spring-board. Only one could jump at a time. At the start each seemed to play without much regard for the interests of the others, jumping whenever he could get the chance, whether it was his due or not. His desire, of course, was to have as much fun as possible, and he was so dominated by this aim that he could not take account of the desires of any one else. Needless to say, perhaps, there was much conflict between the members of the group. But after a few minutes of this sort of thing it dawned upon H., the oldest of the group, that the game was not going forward in a happy way, and she conceived the plan of having each one "take his turn." She ordered that those who were awaiting their turns should remain within a circle which she drew upon the ground, so that there might be no chance of any one annoying the person who was per-

Children's self-discipline in the group

forming. At first the younger members of the group resisted her authority; but when reason failed to bring them to time, she seized two of the children who were particularly rebellious, and in a forceful, effective manner laid down the law to them, and made them realize that if they were to play at all they must obey it. They yielded to her finally, even though they found it very difficult to inhibit the tendency to run out of turn. For thirty minutes H. held the group to strict observance of the rules. When some member's eagerness would get the better of him and he would break out of the circle, she would order him back with vigor, and he would comply without a protest. They were all made vividly aware of the fact that if they did not conform to the rules they would be deprived of the privileges which they now enjoyed. It appeared that they appreciated their leader would be just with them, but she would not tolerate unfair play. It appeared also that they were much happier under this arrangement than under the original order of chaos, when disappointments and conflicts were constantly occurring.

It is of special importance to note that the players followed H.'s directions more readily than those of an adult, an onlooker, who was not a member of the group, but who after a time volunteered to aid the little general in controlling her charges. On most other occasions the suggestions offered by this adult would at once be responded to agreeably. But in this crucial situation he seemed to be, in a way, foreign to the group; he was not assisting materially in carrying on the game, so far as the players could see. He was, in short, an outsider. He was not evidently essential to the prosperity of the present absorbing enterprise, while H. was, and if her commands were not obeyed, matters would turn out badly for all; this the players appeared to feel. H. was, then, one to look up to at this time, because she held the key to the pleasures of the group. Her vigorous manner soon impressed her followers with the necessity of

deferring to her, for she would punish non-conformity ; but an outsider could only exhort ; he could not enforce his suggestions. The impulse to follow the leader, the one who can advance the interests of the group, or at least who can inflict pain upon all dissenters, seems to be a profound tendency of human nature, and it manifests itself early in children.

And when leadership is once established, there is no longer active resistance from members of the group. Easily and gladly they adapt themselves to the inevitable, as it seems to them ; and their efforts will then be devoted to doing as fully as possible what the leader desires. Each member of a group wishes to stand well in the eyes of one who plays so large a part in determining his welfare, and children vie with one another in doing what under other circumstances would be quite distasteful to them. Children not only wish to ingratiate themselves with their leader, but they are ready also in detecting shortcomings in their fellows and representing them to the leader, probably feeling in an indefinite sort of way that their own interests will be promoted thereby. In such group activities as described above, individuals are prone to " tattle " on one another, always registering their complaints with the one who has it in his power to reward or to punish. Often this impulse seeks expression in school and other groups, but it is in time suppressed by the group itself. The child who " tattles " on any member of the group will be *persona non grata* with the whole body. The group will stand together against one who " peaches " on a wrong-doer, even if it is well known that the latter deserves penalization. No matter what dissensions may exist within the group, they must always present a solid front to the enemy.

As a general proposition, adults are regarded by the group in childhood and in adolescence as outsiders, though there are exceptions to be noted presently. It may be observed that when an adult organizes a game for children

they seem often to be in a suspicious or defensive attitude toward him. They usually want to do something different. Parents, teachers, governesses, and all who bear the relation of trainers to children are apt to be considered by them as wishing to impose upon the group activities in which the members are not greatly interested. It is probable that older people as a rule counsel children to engage in "improving" exercises, and these require restraint and exertion, which are not required in activities of their own choosing. Teachers especially are looked upon with much doubt in their attempts to guide the spontaneous life of the group. So much of what they demand in the schoolroom is of the nature of drudgery that they come to represent this sort of thing in children's reaction upon them. The same is true of many parents; and ministers as a class are usually suspected of wishing to prevent the carrying forward of the enterprises in which the group is most interested. These attitudes are more strongly marked in adolescence than in childhood, and among boys than among girls. High-school groups are often unduly restrained, and they may even be completely broken up when a teacher, seeking to be of service, attempts to play games with them. In situations of this sort the members of the group feel ill at ease; the attitudes of the classroom are more or less subconsciously revived whenever the instructor is present, so that free, spontaneous expression cannot occur. The same principle holds in college groups, at least among undergraduates.

The adult as an outsider

But there are exceptions, and many more of them to-day than one could have found a quarter of a century ago in the schools and colleges of our country. There is a growing feeling that teachers in every grade of school ought to cultivate, to some extent at any rate, good-fellowship with their students; they ought to play with them as well as work with them. Formerly the teacher was jealous of his dignity, and he always felt he

The teacher as a member of the group

should be a model of the formal virtues. This made him more or less stiff and forbidding in the presence of the young. In the school he condemned most of the spontaneous activities of his pupils, and he carried his frigid manners with him wherever he went. Consequently, his presence sent a chill through the young, whether he was encountered in the classroom or outside. But as the teacher has increased in genuine strength, as he has gained in power to instruct without repressing all spontaneity in his pupils, he has just in this measure abandoned his formal attitudes, and become more genuine and spontaneous himself. In many instances coming within the observation of the writer (who, it may be added, has for a number of years inspected the work of schools in various parts of the country) instructors have preserved their youthful interests and freedom of expression to such an extent that on the playground they are regarded for the moment simply as one of the group, and the play goes on without artificial restraint. The introduction into secondary schools of instructors who are charged with directing the athletic activities of students has aided in bridging the chasm between the teacher and the pupil. It has brought both parties nearer together in their spontaneous interests and attitudes.

As for college groups, the development of the great universities in our country has resulted in depriving the instructor of some of his artificial dignity. Speaking generally, he does not longer feel that he must pose as a model of the static virtues. The typical college professor of an earlier day thought it necessary to appear in the eyes of the community as devoted only to the very serious and sedate and formal concerns of life. In his speech, his dress, his manners, his general attitudes, he represented the antithesis of youthful interests. He was wont to speak of the follies of youth, and sometimes he considered himself an agent in the hands of an avenging Providence to suppress whatever activities his students were most pleased with.

Such professors took it for granted that students would rarely of their own accord do what was desired of them; and in consequence faculties were regarded as the natural enemies of students in their spontaneous enterprises. Rarely did the student body seek the company of the faculty in their play activities; but instead they got away as far as they could from their influence. But there seems to be greater comradeship between the two bodies in our day in the universities, though much of the old antagonism can still be found in some of the smaller colleges. Antagonism also exists between the student body and a good part of the faculty body in the universities, but the new generation of university instructors is standing less upon the mere formal dignity of the traditional college professor.

In popular phraseology, teachers are "becoming more human." They are gaining greater confidence in the worth of the native tendencies and impulses of young people. They care more than they did of old for natural, unconventional, youthful expression; and they are becoming interested in the young, not so much for the purpose of "benefiting" them as of enjoying their naïveté and spontaneity. This, then, makes them more acceptable in youthful groups, and they are less suspected in their intentions when they show an interest. The same is true in a measure of parents, though probably not to the same extent as of teachers.

Conflict between father and son

In an older day a child stood in awe of his father especially, who was mainly a disciplinarian, rarely a companion. In the community where the writer was reared, it is still the custom for fathers to be distant toward their children in most of their spontaneous undertakings. The elders fear, apparently, that they will lose their control if they relax their austerity. As the sons grow into adolescence, they often become antagonistic to their father's domineering authority, and they separate themselves in their spontaneous life altogether from the parental roof. They do not expect their elders to share with

them in their general interests, and strain and tension result. Father and son live in different worlds; the former is apt to think that the latter is frivolous and unappreciative in his behavior, while the boy thinks the "old man" is tyrannical and even brutal.

No comradeship can exist under these conditions, but rather mutual distrust and antipathy prevail. This unhappy state of affairs has been due in part, no doubt, to economic strain. A father who is overworked is not likely to be tolerant of the boisterousness and apparent carelessness and indifference of his son. Having little leisure himself, and not being relieved at all from the consciousness of need of struggle, he is unable to sympathize with the care-free interests of his boy. He is apt to be constantly in a critical, fault-finding mood, until the son comes to expect nothing else from him, and so he escapes from his presence whenever possible. He would mistrust his father's motives if the latter offered to engage in any of his games, or to join with him in his spontaneous activities. In homes of this character, the son is usually restrained and "unnatural" when the father is about, while he may be free and effective when he is with his fellows. As a rule, boys reared under such a régime are ill at ease in the company of adults, and they avoid them. They form their groups; and in such groups there is often a spirit of defiance of the "old men" of the community, — not mere verbal antagonism, but a deep feeling of hostility. For economic reasons they may work together, but there is no true social bond between them.

But matters are improving in this respect. For one thing, as men are being freed in some measure from the hard struggle for physical survival, they are taking a larger interest in those activities which are dominant in youth. Children to-day wish to have their parents share with them in their experiences more than they did of old in Puritan times, so that there is passing from among us the sort of antagonism between the younger and the maturer elements of the com-

munity that is depicted in such books as Graham's *The Golden Age*, MacLaren's *The Barbarians*, and many others of the same general character.

Among adults individuals are organized into groups for various purposes, — social, political, religious, philanthropic, charitable, educational, scientific, industrial, commercial, professional, literary, and the like. The aim in these organizations — in all but the purely social — is to enable the individual to share in the valuable experiences of the different members of the group, or to combine the wisdom and strength of many in competition with other individuals or groups. In some cases, as in debating societies and whist clubs, the groups separate into sections which in make-believe contest with one another; though on occasion they may compete seriously for gain. People organize for the purpose of play as of work; but in their play they usually simulate the competitive activities of the strenuous life. Now, group organization in childhood has for its sole purpose the promoting of play activities. In the very beginning the mother or father and the child constitute a group, and engage in the simplest games, as "peek-a-boo," "roll-the-ball," and the like. It may occur to some reader that during even the first hours of life the child and the mother enter into group relations, since the former receives his food from the latter. But this is not, as we are here viewing the matter, a group relation, since the individuals do not play each an independent rôle in give-and-take activities, as they do in all games. For the first few weeks the child seems still a part of the mother, not a distinct individual. But group organization implies that the several members possess distinct individualities, and each can play a part with the others in the group. The members of any true group, as we shall use the term, are related to one another in a dynamic, coöperative, and not in a wholly dependent way, as the child is related to his mother. Unless each member can contribute something toward attaining the

The first form of group activity in childhood

ends for which a true group exists, he will soon be ignored, driven out, or destroyed. This is shown most strikingly in industrial groups, even among the lower orders of life, as the bees and the ants, for example, and the principle seems to apply to all true group organizations, whether in human or in animal societies. This does not mean that every member of a group must be able to play the rôle of leader or guide in some particular; it is enough often that one member should furnish opportunity for practice by the other members, or serve as auditor or critic. But he must assist the group as a whole in some capacity, or else he will not be counted as of the group.

The development of group consciousness

It was said above that the child first enters into group relations with his mother when he plays his little games with her. She pretends that she gets pleasure from his action, as indeed she does, though not in just the way that she pretends. She makes believe that he can play at peek-a-boo as well as she; she gets caught as often as he does, and in her expressions she leads him to feel that he is skillful at the game, that he is an efficient cause of events, that he is master of a situation. Thus the effort is made to give him individual importance, to avoid awakening the feeling of inferiority or dependence, — that he is incapable of playing a part, or of adding anything to the entertainment or advancement of others in the group. In most of the relations of parents with their children, until the latter are well on in adolescence, there is this make-believe of equality in ability and mutual serviceableness. Sometimes, it is true, the child assumes the attitude of the learner, when he will seek aid from some elder who can assist him; but the activity is apt to take on the character of work instead of play. But in a situation of this sort, the learner and the teacher generally have more or less consciously in view some future occasion when there will be real equality, when the former will have acquired the ability of the latter, and thus be able to hold his own with him.

In his primitive group activities in play the child cannot and does not attempt to enter into relation with more than one playfellow at a time. He lacks the ability of a member of a baseball or football team, for example, to adjust himself to a number of others constituting a true group. Again, the young child has no sense of the group unity of a number of persons who are prospered or injured as a unit. One cannot imagine a child of two, say, sacrificing his own interests in any way for the welfare of the group, as a member of a football or baseball team will do. To a very limited extent he may voluntarily yield some pleasure for the benefit of a particular member of the group, but the group as a unity does not appeal to him. This is, without question, one of the principal objects to be attained in the child's social evolution through his group activities, — to develop in him the consciousness of the oneness of the group in its interests, and to cause him to be governed in his action by its effect upon the group as a unity. He does not learn this lesson without some strain and stress. It is not his nature to sacrifice for the group. A boy of five normally shows a strong tendency to be "it" whenever he can, and to get the applause of the bystanders for his individual performance, no matter what may happen to the group of which he is a member.

How the sense of group unity is acquired

He shows this tendency in all his social adjustments. He will not readily sacrifice for his family, as a group, nor does he consider their collective well-being, their good name, etc., in his conduct, though he may hesitate to offend his father or his mother as individuals. But as the child develops, his growing powers make it possible for him to come into ever more complex relations with people, and with larger and larger groups working toward certain ends in common; and the reaction of these groups upon his conduct tends in all cases to impress upon him the notion that the group will stand or fall as a unity, and he must govern himself accordingly. His "side" in a contest is eager to win, let us say, and he plays in a way to

please himself, but to weaken the team. Then observe the captain discipline him, and all his fellows upbraid him; he ought "to have kept his place," "to have done what he was told," etc., etc. Constantly, day in and day out, the group moulds him into shape, compelling him to play his part with reference to the whole, the team, or forfeit his right to play at all. So gradually the consciousness of group unity is established in him, and in the end this normally dominates his thinking and his action, though there are certainly a large proportion of individuals in any community who never entirely complete this developmental process.

The first requisite for the development of this fealty to the group is opportunity for *play;* play in which two individuals only are concerned at first, but in which the group enlarges as growth proceeds. All young creatures play in preparation for the serious work of life; but the human child is *par excellence* the playing animal. For one thing, he has a much longer term for play than the colt or the kitten or the puppy; and normally he seeks to spend his time in play during the whole of the developmental period. Modern students of mental development agree that through his play the child develops both body and mind in an effective way. And he will attend to the matter himself, too, if we but give him a fair chance. His passion for play is the deepest of all his instincts, and it will manifest itself in the face of the most serious obstacles. Let one study child-life in the crowded streets of a great city, — Clark Street in Chicago, for instance, — and he will see what tremendous hazards the young take, and ordeals they undergo, that they may indulge this passion. But urban civilization deals harshly with the child in this respect; it deprives him of the opportunities for free play. Indeed, the city often schemes to prevent the child from playing, for when he does play he obstructs the public highways and interferes with the pleasures of adults, for whose interests alone the larger part of the city exists.

Opportunity for play the chief requirement

Any one who has not done so may learn a useful lesson relating to this subject if he will spend a month in the police courts of any large city, where juvenile offenders are dealt with. He will see enacted here one scene in the tragedy of the child with his play impulses attempting to adjust himself to an environment ill suited to his needs, and he will not fail to appreciate that herein lies one of the most urgent and perplexing problems of modern civilization.

A lesson from European civilization

In this connection we may profit, if we will, by the experience of the Old World. It is generally recognized, as we have intimated in a preceding chapter, that certain European peoples, once leaders in the world's progress, have already entered upon their period of decline. Take Italy, for example. The moment one comes in contact with the present order of things in this unhappy country he is made conscious of the physical and moral disintegration of a large part of the people, which is everywhere so apparent. Italy, and particularly the Neapolitan section, is a great laboratory for the study of degeneracy. Many of the investigations along this line have been made by Italian scientists, such as Mosso, Lombroso, and others. Of course, many factors have contributed to bring about the present deplorable state of affairs in this land, but it is probable that the factor which has been most largely responsible for Italian decline has been the neglect of conditions essential to the proper training of the young. The streets of Naples, Rome, Florence, Genoa, and Venice are swarming with children from the ages of six months to fifteen years, who have no place but the streets in which to play, and in consequence thereof they are in a hostile attitude toward law and order much of the time. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that they should develop antisocial tendencies. As one studies the situation in Naples, say, he is reminded strongly of the law of life in the forest, which is, eat or be eaten. The moment children come on to the streets in these Italian cities they are apt to begin

taking lessons in crime, in preying upon every one as every one preys upon them.

When the young are plunged early into such a situation as is found in these Italian cities, they soon reveal the signs of over-stimulation, which is disastrous to right social or any other kind of development. Italian children before the age of four or five are apparently exceptionally attractive and intelligent, suggesting that their ancestors some generations back were far from degenerates. But it does not take many years of street influences to work ruin in the bodies, minds, and morals of the young. A Neapolitan boy is mature at an age when any well-brought-up American boy is in the middle of his school career, and still plastic in mind and body. This early maturing of youth will, as we have already suggested, prove of disadvantage to any people if they are brought into competition with a nation whose children remain docile and educable for a longer period. A child does not have time by the age of fifteen, say, to get his primitive impulses thoroughly under the control of social and moral ideals. To get set early means, among other things, that one cannot assimilate the later and more subtle products of social evolution. As a matter of fact, Italian culture would probably soon be lost to the world if it were not for the interest of outside nations. The rising generation of Italians do not appear to appropriate this culture fully, and it is probable that they could not on their own initiative preserve, much less transmit, it to succeeding generations. Italy's past lives not so much in the minds and conduct of the present generation of its own people as in its galleries and museums.

The chief count against the city

As one studies Old-World civilization in general, he reaches the conclusion that no nation has yet discovered how to preserve continuously the physical and moral vigor of the people under conditions of urban life. The human body and mind were evolved in close contact with nature, and the evidence

seems conclusive that they will not develop completely in the individual under the restraints and irritations of the city as it has been constructed in the past, and as it is being constructed in the present, even in our new country. The chief count against the city is that it does not provide proper conditions for either the physical, intellectual, or social development of the rising generations, so that each may preserve what the race has accomplished before it, and make additions thereto. The schools are unable to transmit this culture adequately under the disadvantages of urban civilization. The school, as it has been planned so largely in the cities of the Old and the New World alike, represents an adult's view of what would be suitable for him if he had as an adult to learn to live. He thinks he would wish to sit indoors and absorb the contents of books containing the wisdom of the ages. So he builds his schools in busy thoroughfares, and makes no provision for free play. As indicated above, he equips his schools in a way which makes it impossible for a child to do much else than to memorize words in his text-books. He cannot be dynamic to a great extent in his school; he must remain largely static, and mechanically learn formal knowledge. If we of the New World cannot build cities so that the needs of immature as well as of mature creatures shall be provided for, it seems probable that we will go the way other civilizations have gone and are now going.

The need of playgrounds

We ought to profit by the experiments which older civilizations have made in building cities for adults and neglecting the oncoming generations. We have before us still for the most part the problem of city-building in the western two thirds of our country, and we can easily accomplish what is demanded if we only think it worth while. In the new cities we are planning we need to preserve generous free spaces where the young may keep in close contact with natural conditions, and especially where they may play together freely without violating the law.

There should be a playground in the vicinity of every public school, and it should be in charge of a playmaster who knows children and the games that will interest them. Under his direction the playground may be made of immense importance in social development. Children who play much in wholesome ways learn, so they will never forget it, that every game has its rules and regulations which all must observe. So has the great game of life; but this latter game is altogether too complex for the child to enter at the outset, making it necessary that we begin with him in a simple way, and pass on steadily to situations more and more intricate. In this manner he will be led in time to realize that the game can go on only when every one plays fair; and matters will terminate best for all when good-will and coöperation prevail. As we have seen, the child does not readily learn this lesson, because his instincts act in opposition to it. But by a long process of vital training in playing games within his sphere of development at any period, he can be greatly helped to appreciate that social law is very real and binding, and in the long run it will pay to observe its rules strictly. We are trying to teach these lessons in the school, in literature, in history, in ethics, and in other subjects; but the playground furnishes an excellent opportunity to make the lessons genuinely effective.

It is frequently remarked that the street gamin is brighter in certain ways and more capable than is the child in the school. The former doubtless receives a training which is more effective than that received by the latter in developing readiness in action and self-reliance. Unhappily, though, the child of the street rarely progresses beyond a low point of development, because the environment in which he lives is not planned for his advancement. Little thought is taken of him, except to repress him. But on the well-conducted playground there is continual progression in the child's activities. He is constantly brought into more and more complex situations, and compelled to adjust himself to them.

The expert supervisor understands how to adapt plays and games to the needs and capacities of children from the earliest years on to maturity, and he keeps a pupil moving forward steadily, until he gives him experience in the most complex games, which call into play social powers much as they will be exercised in the serious situations of adult life. When children have these social experiences on the playground, they are the more ready to understand and appreciate what the school offers in the way of social instruction. Every lesson can be made pointed, direct, practical, because the teacher can assist the child to see its bearing upon the situations in which he is daily placed. And what is of chief importance, the teacher can get his lessons worked out into practice, at least partially, where now he must often simply theorize, and so leave his teaching mostly in the air.

A sound mind in a sound body

We are told to-day that the physical and mental are inseparably joined together, and if the one is defective the other will suffer through sympathy. Now it appears to be impossible to develop the child physically in any way so effectively as through active play. Formal gymnastics can accomplish relatively little. The child must have some end to attain that arouses his enthusiasm, and that demands agility and strength and endurance ; and then his whole bodily mechanism will work together in harmony to achieve this end. And this is what physical training seeks to accomplish, — to make the body a fit instrument for the mind. Students of the subject have analyzed many plays and games which appeal to children, and they have pointed out that in some of them nearly every important muscle and vital function is brought into action, and exercised in a thorough and beneficial manner. No system of formal training ever has been or probably ever can be elaborated that will do for the child what he will do for himself spontaneously, if he only be given opportunity and a little guidance. Let him have some place where he may not only play games freely without fear of the police, but

where he may run and jump and climb and swing and work in sand and throw stones and wrestle, and the like, and he will not fail to make the most out of the body nature has given him, as a housing for a sound and efficient mind.

Finally, even if playgrounds were of no positive value in any other direction, they would still be of estimable service in keeping children out of crime, and lessening expense for police, courts, reformatories, hospitals, and prisons, a point which was strongly emphasized in the Report of 1897 of the Committee on Small Parks in New York. The report says, among other things:

Playgrounds lessen crime

> With a common accord the precinct captains attribute the existence of juvenile rowdyism and turbulence to the lack of a better playground than the street. . . . Children use the middle of the street, and a great many accidents are caused thereby. They break lamps and windows, because they have no other provision made for them. London, after an experience of forty years battling with the slums, says tersely: "Crime in our large cities is to a great extent simply a question of athletics."

If a boy's energies are not used up in wholesome activity, they will surely find expression in illegitimate conduct. The boy will prey upon the institutions which prevent him from living a natural life. We all know something of the scene on a typical city thoroughfare, described in the Report to which reference has been made, where "traffic," playing children, and pedestrians are all mingled in the streets, each one interfering with the other.

> We often hear their quarrels and frictions in the streets. The playing children lead all the rest in creating this confusion. They obstruct the way of the car driver and the motorman in almost every block. The grocer and the shopkeeper are constantly annoyed by them, while the more hardened among them are always ready to insult the old and the unfortunate, and to take part in any sort of mischief. But the greatest sufferers from the children on the streets are undoubtedly the policemen. In some sections their heaviest duty all day long is to chase the children with their games from one corner and street to another,

in a vain attempt to keep them from breaking windows, hurting passengers, committing nuisances, and breeding tumult and disorder.

The testimony of playground experts

The Secretary of the Philadelphia Culture Extension League, which has done much in the establishment of playgrounds, speaking of the institution in his city, says that "the boys especially crowd the corners and tramp the street like organized bands of idlers, cultivating the disposition and imitating the loafers on the streets in mischief, profanity, vice, and crime, and often fiercely arm themselves against any opposition. 'The greatest enemy to the police is the boy,' said a high Philadelphia official recently. 'Go to the storekeeper, to the shopkeeper, to the housekeeper, and you will hear the same story. The boys steal, break windows, insult, afflict, upset one thing and another, and would do most anything they hear or see in order to satisfy that burning instinct for play.' These beginnings of vice and crime were the only outlets they have had for the powers with which nature has endowed them. These practices were their only or chief amusement, and thus happiness to them became synonymous with vice and fiendish delight in evil doing."

But in studying the life on the playgrounds he sees that they lay the foundations for "strong, manly, bright, and happy lives, rescued from the evil habits and tendencies that produce misery and wretchedness. Through their play in this manner the young are taught how to live together, how to respect each other's rights, how to be kind, gentle, pure, in language as well as in conduct. The boy's mouth is not defiled by tobacco, liquor, or profane language. The disrespectful and vulgar treatment which young boys and girls inflict upon each other in the street is done away with. The playground influences are carried into the home, where the younger brothers and sisters treat each other differently from the way they otherwise would; or, to put it

the other way, the influences of the home, of the school, and of the church are thus extended outside over the whole life of the child."

Speaking of the playground in Chicago conducted under the auspices of the University Settlement of Northwestern University, the lieutenant in charge of the police in that precinct says that "not less than fifteen lives have been saved from the electric car since the establishment of the playground, and juvenile arrests have decreased fully 33⅓ per cent. The young boys between thirteen and sixteen who are not at work loaf around street corners; they have no place to go; they go into saloons, and they annoy the passers-by, or they form in crowds. They resent the interference of the police, and finally they are arrested. We hate to do this, as it is the first step in pushing a boy downward into the criminal class. Since the playground has been opened and they are permitted to come in here, they give us no trouble whatever."

Recently a prominent principal of a high-class grammar school asked the present writer's advice regarding the method of treating a situation which is typical of the sort of thing teachers must deal with frequently. The boys in this particular school, in imitation of more mature students, had taken to "hazing" one another for recreation and amusement. Unhappily the older and stronger ones were inclined to select as their victims those younger and weaker than themselves. Naturally complaints came to the teachers from angry parents and abused pupils. The principal had strictly forbidden all pastimes of this kind, but the trouble did not cease, for it was practically impossible to tell in special cases just what was intended for "hazing" as contrasted with good-humored play. When boys would be charged with undue roughness they would declare themselves innocent of any bad motives, and nothing could really be proved against them. On the playground where boys must devise their own diversions

The playground and school discipline

wholly, the line between good-natured play and deliberate harshness is often very indefinite and difficult to determine, as one who must adjust the difficulties between boys well knows.

Now let us go to make a little study of this hazing problem. The school building is situated directly on the street, — a very busy and noisy one. The space for play is entirely inadequate; the pupils must use the street mainly. But the street, being utilized so largely by pedestrians and vehicles, imposes great obstacles to play. The children are kept huddled together, and personal encounters are practically unavoidable. Then there are in the school many boys who live on the street when they are home, and their principal occupation consists in badgering one another. The street, as we have seen, develops a disposition in boys to bully and to tease; in any city in the world, observe a busy street where boys congregate, and the truth of this will be apparent. Boys left to themselves, to find amusement as best they can under the restrictions and irritations of urban life, are practically certain to bully each other, and quarrel and fight a good deal; what is primitive in them flourishes under such conditions.

So the boys in this school, having no opportunity for organized plays and games during their intermissions, give vent to their bullying and combative tendencies in one form or another. And it is boy nature to annoy any peculiar fellow-pupil, — peculiar in respect to clothes or manners or anything else. If one boy looks more "stuck-up" than the majority of the group, or even lives in a different part of the town, which may give presumption of aristocratic feeling, it is sufficient excuse to "pick on him," and to intimidate him in divers ways. Boys cannot tolerate traits or conditions different from those of the gang, and they are absolutely indifferent as to whether these traits are good or bad, as adults think of them. And it accomplishes little of permanent value to "lecture" boys about their rude con-

duct, or to threaten them, unless one can suggest a practicable way in which their energies may be legitimately expended. It is highly probable they will be active in some direction anyway, and mere prohibition will restrain only temporarily, at best. Often this method simply aggravates the disease which it is designed to cure. It keeps the forbidden thing before the mind of the offender; and, of course, the more he thinks of it the firmer hold it gets on his impulses, and the less likely he is to resist it.

A principal can hardly expect to solve problems of playground misconduct unless he can organize his pupils and give them some definite thing to do. Arnold of Rugby transformed the great English schools for boys by developing an organized system of self-government, in which fagging is an element, in place of lawless hazing and bullying, which were so prominent in these schools before his day. Now everything of this sort is under rules and regulations administered by the boys themselves, and the hazing disease has been cured. Study the activities on any playground where there is a director who always has games for the boys to play when they cannot readily develop them for themselves, and you will rarely find mean and lawless conduct. The watchwords of the teacher must be, at all times, *organization* and *substitution*. Bad conduct can be effectually cured only by using the individual's energies in wholesome ways.

Rivalry in group activity

A word should be said at this point respecting a powerful stimulus to activity among the young, whether on the playground, on the street, in the schoolroom, or in the home. Scientists tell us there is a constant struggle for existence among all living things. Every creature, whether plant or animal, is striving unceasingly not only to preserve itself from extinction, but to better its conditions, which usually brings it into conflict with other creatures, which are struggling to obtain the same things that it desires. In human society the individual puts forth

his strength and uses his wits to "get to the top" in all that this implies of material, moral, and intellectual superiority. But we are coming to see that coöperation will probably turn out better for society as a whole than will unrestrained competition; and yet human beings have all been constructed on the competitive principle, and effort is still with most of us, certainly with most normal children, dependent directly upon the spirit of rivalry. Take a boy of ten, say, and extract out of his impulses everything of the nature of rivalry, and he would become a flabby, inert, and static individual. Practically all of the boy's spontaneous life is competitive. When he has no companion to compete with he tries to excel himself, as it were, — to jump higher than he has ever jumped before, or to run faster, or to shoot straighter, or to yell louder.

In education we must make some use of this great spur to supreme, developing effort. Quintilian long ago saw the superiority of training in the school to instruction at home, since the stimulus of rivalry is almost lacking in the latter case. Our professional forbears saw the value of this factor in education, and they sought to make the most of it through the establishment of an elaborate system of rewards. Without question this method of arousing ambition was in some places carried so far that it resulted in both physical and moral injury to pupils. It is really not necessary to award prizes in order to stimulate competitive activity in pupils. It is usually enough for any pupil to have a chance simply to *win* in a game, no matter what it may be. If he can spell better than any one else in his class, or better than half his class, the demonstration of this ability is in itself a sufficient stimulus to effort, and at the same time a sufficient reward therefor. A certificate or badge notifying all interested persons of an individual's excellence in any respect may increase his satisfaction in his achievements, and be a tangible, visible evidence of his superiority; but it is not essential in order to awaken his ambition. Consider that on the playground

the only stimulus and reward a boy has for his endeavors is the attainment of leadership, or at least excellence over some members of the group. To become the head of the group or the class is a perfectly natural and doubtless worthy ambition; and nothing in human life has greater motive force. So in the schoolroom the attainment of ends natural to school work, and for which all the pupils are striving, will be sufficient to urge most children to make the best use of their abilities in competition with their fellows.

The value of competitive activity in the schoolroom and on the playground

One cannot, of course, ignore the objections which many urge against making use of competition in the schoolroom or on the playground. It is said that pupils should strive for ends because of their inherent worth, and not for the sake of winning them from some one else. It will not be necessary to argue the proposition here that the race is evolving toward a point where competitive struggle will be less prominent than it has been in the past; but we surely have not yet reached the point where we can get on without this incitement to effort. Even if we could do so in mature life, which is highly improbable, it is nevertheless utterly impossible to arouse the young effectively in any other way. In education we have to consider not only what the race is evolving toward, but also what order of things it has grown out of. Its past will determine the basis upon which we have to work to attain what lies ahead. If we ignore ancestral practices we have little upon which to build in the present. So an educational regimen based upon the doctrine of eliminating rivalry altogether would be weak and motiveless indeed. This implies that there is some place for marks and honors and all the other incitements to and evidences of success or failure in competitive struggle. Of course, there is a danger that one who makes use of these will come to rely upon them wholly, rather than upon making what is presented inherently worthful and attractive. But it is not the part of wisdom to cure one evil by plunging into a greater one. According as we dis-

cover methods of making everything that is taught genuinely interesting, competition will doubtless play a less important rôle in teaching than it now does; but there is no reason to hope that we can for some time yet do without it entirely in any phase of our educational system.

There is a further objection to rivalry in the schoolroom that needs to be considered before leaving the topic. It is said that in the competitive system the strong triumph at the expense of the weak; but in an altruistic society the latter should be chiefly thought of, since they are the needy ones. We cannot endure to see the weak suffer in the struggle for either mental or physical survival. But if we give free play to the competitive spirit they will certainly go to the wall. It is probable that our sentiments are likely to get the better of our judgment in dealing with this matter. For one thing, the welfare of society demands the conservation of the strong rather than of the weak, if both cannot be conserved; and any system of training which would not call out every power of the gifted pupil in the school would defeat the highest end of education, regarded either from the standpoint of the individual or of society. Then it seems likely that every individual is so constructed by nature that he is reasonably content if he lands in the position for which his talents fit him. That is to say, the relatively incompetent are, generally speaking, equipped with an emotional nature in harmony with their incompetency. At the same time, nature has endowed the strong pupil with ambitions and desires, which if thwarted will prove a constant source of unrest and discontent in his life. Strangely enough, we have overlooked the pain which comes from power undeveloped or unexpressed. We have assumed that the man capable of being a leader could be happy even if this capability were not exercised. A very little study of human nature, though, will show that contentment arises only when one's capabilities are fully

The survival of the fittest in competitive activity

utilized; which being interpreted with reference to our present problem, implies that the life of the schoolroom and outside must be so conducted that every individual can do his level best, and take such a position in the group as his abilities naturally warrant.

Résumé

In their group activities children learn readily to conform to the rules of the game, for otherwise they will be deprived of their opportunity to play. The tendency to respect and to follow a leader who can advance the interests of the group is strong in human nature, and manifests itself early in the child. One who is not considered essential to the prosperity of the group is either ignored or looked upon as an outsider.

As a rule the adult, whether teacher, parent, or minister, is regarded as an outsider by the group during childhood and adolescence. But there is a growing feeling that teachers should cultivate good-fellowship with their students, and should enter freely into their spontaneous life. The development of athletic activities in the schools has helped to bridge the chasm between teacher and pupil. With the development of the great universities among us, some of the artificial dignity of the professor has disappeared; and to-day there exists less antagonism than formerly between student body and faculty. Teachers now have greater confidence in the worth of the native tendencies and impulses of young people, and they are acquiring an interest in the natural expressions of youth. In an older day, and in some places still, the father was mainly a disciplinarian. Companionship between father and son was rare, and often mutual distrust and antipathy prevailed; but the situation in this respect also is improving.

The aim of adult group organization is mutual gain. The first group activity in childhood is for the purpose of promoting play. Every member of a true group must serve the group as a unity in some capacity. At the outset the child has little sense of group unity, and he can adjust himself to but one playfellow at a time. With development he comes into ever more complex relations with groups working for a common end, and he is compelled to recognize the interests of the whole in his action, until in time respect for group unity comes to dominate his conduct.

To engage in play is a deep-seated instinct. Much play in childhood and youth is of vital importance alike for physical and for mental development. The physical and moral disintegration of certain European peoples is probably due in large measure to the neglect of conditions essential for the proper training of the young through play. The children in Italian cities have only streets for playgrounds, with the result that they early acquire criminal tendencies. Being constantly

preyed upon, they retaliate in kind. Because of over-stimulation they mature too early, and are unable fully to assimilate the culture of Italian civilization.

Nations have not yet discovered how to maintain the physical and moral vigor of a people under urban conditions. As a rule schools are built by adults on the static plan, and they do not provide for the dynamic needs of the child. There should be a playground in charge of a competent playmaster in the vicinity of every public school. Wholesome plays properly directed impress upon the child the inevitableness of social law, and enforce the lessons taught in literature, history, and ethics. On well-conducted playgrounds, plays and games are adapted to the developing needs and capacities of children.

Playgrounds lessen crime. If a boy's energies are not utilized in a wholesome way they will find expression in illegitimate conduct. Not only do the children in the city interfere with traffic on the street, but they tend to find an outlet for their energies in vice and crime. Experts testify that through the playground the proper influence of home, school, and church is extended outside over the whole life of the child.

Boys left to themselves and without proper amusements will resort to bullying, hazing, quarreling, and fighting. But when proper playgrounds are provided, bad conduct may be avoided and cured through wholesome activities. Organization and substitution must be the watchwords in home and school.

While the welfare of society as a whole demands coöperation rather than unrestrained competition, yet the natural impulse toward rivalry is necessary, to a certain extent, for the best development. So far as possible pupils should be stimulated to exert themselves in the school because of interest in the work; but it would be a serious error to eliminate all competitive activity from the schoolroom. Competition is the greatest motive force to which the teacher can appeal. While in competitive activity due regard should be paid to the interests of the weak, still the welfare of society demands the conservation and full development of the strong as well as the weak. Individual well-being also requires that the "lad o' pairts" should have his powers fully exercised, which is impossible if he is made to keep step with the child who is "born short."

CHAPTER XIV

PROBLEMS OF TRAINING

THE following situation is typical in main features of those that are constantly arising in the training of children. J., a boy of seven years, was on a certain occasion going from his home into the city on an errand. The weather was cold, as his parents thought, and he was instructed to protect himself by wearing his warmest coat. He protested, saying in effect that his coat impeded his freedom, so that he could not run when he had it on, and it annoyed him greatly. He asked permission to put on a lighter one so that he would be freer in his movements. His elders were insistent, however, and urged him to wear the objectionable article, although he continued to resist, declaring that he could not "stand it," and that he would be "all right without it." He was angry and "stubborn," and so were the grown people who were coercing him. They seemed to think he was disobedient and ugly, and he evidently thought they were unreasonable.

A typical instance of conflict in the training of children

J.'s attitude was in a way a perfectly "natural" one, for children dislike the constriction caused by close-fitting, heavy clothing. This antipathy may serve a useful end to some degree, since it is probably a detriment to a growing child to be bundled up in a manner that might be no disadvantage whatever to older persons. At the same time it was natural for those who were responsible for J.'s welfare to feel that the weather was too severe for him to go out without the protection of his warm coat. They were solicitous only for his well-being, and they were annoyed because he did not recognize this and respond appropriately. The circumstances were such as to arouse lively emotions on both sides. The child could not appreciate the

adult's point of view either in reference to his health or to the social requirements of the community; and he regarded the demands made on him as arbitrary and unnecessary, and so conflict was inevitable.

There is a large principle involved in this instance. Nature seems to have established in every normal child an intense desire to rid himself of all impedimenta to free action, which is seen in his tendency to run out of the house at all times without hat or coat, or even shoes. He is quite indifferent to the physical effects of exposure to wind and cold and rain; indeed, he normally enjoys exposing himself, and will uncomplainingly endure experiences which would greatly disturb an adult. The child has in him something of the bravado and the hardihood of primitive man, who was constantly exposed, and who trained himself to submit without a murmur to hardships of exposure and fatigue. It can be seen, then, why it is practically impossible for the child to take the adult's point of view in respect to these matters; he is so dominated by his impulses that he cannot "listen to reason." Nothing is reasonable to him which is hostile to his profound desires. When he is under the sway of his passions, he is incapacitated from seeing the justice or the value of any proposals which contemplate blocking him in the realization of his ends. So there must frequently be disparity between the child's and the adult's estimate of values in regard to the conduct of the former, who often has only his impulses as a basis for determination, while the latter is likely to have a larger or smaller body of vital experience to control the influence of mere desire.

But to keep to the specific instance under consideration. Here is the mother who cannot endure inclement weather herself unless well protected, who enjoys the feeling of clothing, and who thinks her position in society requires that her children be always completely and conventionally attired, while the attitude of her child is diametrically opposed on every point. What is to

Differing points of view

be done in such a situation? In this special case the opposition of J. to the wishes of the parent, and his feeling of irritation, were finally subdued by an outsider coming on the scene and speaking to him in a calm, reassuring tone, and putting his arm around him gently yet strongly, and suggesting to him that he put on the coat this time, and it would be seen what could be done about it in the future. This manifestation of respect for J.'s feeling, and an expression of willingness to take into account the advisability of indulging him in it in the future modified his feeling of resistance. Gradually the happier emotions gained control, and soon discharged the disagreeable ones altogether. What seemed to be demanded here was, in the first place, a recognition of the reasonableness of the child's desires regarded from his own point of view. Secondly, a strong, positive, but at the same time sympathetic determination to lead him, in a way which would not irritate him, to see the justice of the command that had been given him. In the third place, there was needed an effective use of suggestion, which should cause him to see so far as possible the advantages of doing the thing which had been requested of him, and so draw his attention off from the unhappy aspects of the matter.

Personal traits that incite resistance

This will be the appropriate place, perhaps, to mention a general principle of vast importance. In all discipline it may be noted that there is a very subtle power in the voice and manner, which may either antagonize the one under treatment, or it may allay his anger and release his resistance, so that suggestions may the more readily be carried out. One of the most serious mistakes that can occur in the kind of situation described is for authority to be expressed in an irritable, domineering, or challengeful way. Possibly it is even more unfortunate to set to work calling up the child's past offenses, and "nagging" him about them, with the end in view to impress his failings upon him, as though this could reform him. It may

be a relief to the tense nerves of the governess, but it is only an excitant to the child. Then it is a simple principle of psychology that shortcomings which are habitually brought to the child's attention in either a positive or a negative way tend to fasten themselves in his character. Doubtless there are occasions when summoning his past life of error before an offender may give rise to emotions which will put him into a condition to receive instruction from his elders. But in the great majority of cases it seems best to deal with the action immediately in hand, and keep the past out of view. What is required is to produce the proper response in the individual, with the least possible disturbance or debate or delay. Usually mere argument when the offender is on the defensive only strengthens him in his attitude of opposition; especially is this the case with children before the adolescent period.

The futility of much verbal correction

This leads to some reflections upon the futility of word encounters in discipline, whether of a light or a serious character. The writer has observed that when children are genuinely interested in what they are doing, they are often likely to be but little influenced by anything their elders say to them in the way of correction or prohibition, unless these elders have early established complete authority over them. To illustrate: a boy of six is running across the room and jumping on the sofa, and the governess says, "I wish you would not do that," and he goes right on with the game, pleading, "Just once or twice more," which means until he has become satisfied. The words of the governess are not potent enough to inhibit the flow of energy along the open routes. When a child gets started in any activity which appeals to him strongly, he will not leave off until his energy is exhausted, or until some really powerful stimulus turns his attention in another direction. An adult is not normally so completely dominated by any activity as a child often is; which means that the former can more or less spontaneously turn his

attention from one object to another as conditions make desirable, whereas the child is to a large extent "charmed" by anything which has interest for him. One may see well-disposed and really obedient children who, while playing, or reading some absorbing story, must be called to meals a half dozen times. Words strike on their ears, but they have practically no influence upon the concerns which are at the time occupying the focus of consciousness. Even if a command makes an impression for the moment, it is forgotten in an instant, dislodged by the ideas in the saddle, and in possession of the motor routes. Children have short memories for behests opposed to the current of their interests. One may see parents who keep telling their children to do this or to do that, — to sit up and keep still, to stop fidgeting, or playing, or whispering, and so on, and their commands accomplish but little; and if oft repeated they may lose their force altogether. Words, as they come from the lips of the average trainer, seem too weak to turn aside or to restrain the dominant tendencies of the child's ideas, emotions, and motor processes.

How commands are made effective

Of course, one may speak in such a way that his words will take effect; but really in such a case it is not the mere words that produce response, but the vocal intonation, facial expression, gesticulation, bodily attitudes, and the like. These have a deep significance for the child, and he early gets his cue from them. As he develops, words in themselves continually increase in potency,[1] because they become enriched with meaning, and thus acquire both coercive and inhibitive power; so that the behavior of an adult may be determined by the words spoken to him, without much accompanying expression denoting the real attitudes of the one who governs. But it is altogether different with the child; he gets his bearing as to the intentions of his trainers mainly from

[1] This principle is discussed in detail in the author's *Linguistic Development and Education*, Part I.

bodily expression, and especially from direct physical contact. It is not necessary or perhaps desirable that the trainer inflict pain of any consequence in this physical contact; but simply taking a rebellious child in his arms in such a manner as to suggest strength and decision will usually change the attitude of the nonconformist, and he will be likely to follow the suggestions of authority without resistance. Instead, then, of standing afar off and commanding a young child who is absorbed in his own enterprises, the governess ought to put herself alongside him, and cause him to realize in other than verbal terms the urgency and importance of the command. If words are relied upon mainly, they must be loaded with suggestions of power and determination, in which the whole expressive mechanism of the trainer coöperates as a unity. If this be done in the early years, there will be little difficulty in the later years; but if it be neglected during the formative period, it will entail no end of trouble later on. It is a common thing to see parents in more or less constant verbal contests with their children from the age of three forward, simply because during the first three years they did not use words sparingly and other forms of expression generously in their disciplinary methods. The really successful trainer is one who when the child is in harmony with his environment has a thoroughly "good time" with him; but who, when the latter needs correction, ceases his talk largely, and reveals his disapproval through the eye and every part of the body. One whose general expressions do not suggest force, decision, resoluteness, moral courage, can hardly discipline children effectively, no matter how good his theories on the subject may be. Observe the result of such a person saying to a vigorous boy, "Don't you do that or I will punish you." Now, there is doubtless in all normal children a strong tendency to manifest independence in the face of authority if they feel they can win. And then for a weak character in the position of teacher or parent to tell a boy that he will

chastise him if he does a certain thing is to dare him to do it, and the natural reaction of the boy is to accept the challenge, — not openly and directly, it may be, but rather in an underhanded way, and by degrees. However, when the command is given by one who makes the boy feel there is back of it great strength and firmness and absolute fairness, which qualities cannot be adequately expressed verbally, it tends to break down resisting attitudes, which are always active in the presence of weak personalities.

Commands that do not reach the child's focus of attention

Before leaving the topic of making commands effective we may glance at the following incident, which is typical of many that can be observed in the ordinary home where there are three or four children, who are stimulated in many ways in the effort to adapt themselves to a complex environment. A boy, Henry, eight years of age, was making preparations to leave the house to skate. There were other boys in the house,— a brother and two playmates, — who were also preparing to go on the ice. It was a cold day, and the father, who happened to be passing the boys in the hallway, suggested to Henry that he should put on a sweater under his coat. When the suggestion was made the four boys were all talking at the same time; and, of course, they were excited, and absorbed in the discussion of plans they were making for a game of hockey. They were debating who should be partners in the game; and to an onlooker it was evident that they were deeply interested in the matter, and each was eager to contribute his views to the solution of the problem. Henry, who is naturally of an "intense" type, throwing himself without reserve into any enterprise in which he is engaged, was evidently entirely possessed by his view of the matter under consideration. The expression of his whole being showed that he was giving himself absolutely to the problem which the group was trying to solve. When the father made the suggestion, Henry seemed to give it his attention for a moment, and he responded with,

"Yes, I will." But the very tone of his voice, as well as the "look in his eye," and the attitude of his body, showed that he reacted as he did simply to get rid of the father in order that he might go back again to the discussion of the interesting situation which had completely captivated him. The "Yes, I will" was a rather automatic, or at best perfunctory, response to his father's command. It really did not mean that the boy had fully comprehended the command, — had understood just what was required of him, and had given his assent to it. Probably at the moment when he made his reply his attention was centred primarily on the game of hockey, and not on putting on his sweater. All his expressions seemed to indicate that the latter had not gained entrance to the focus of his consciousness at all; certainly it had not presented itself vividly enough really to attract the boy's attention and influence his conduct.

The sequel to this event hardly needs to be related. Henry went on to the ice without his sweater. The father presently discovered the fact, and he proceeded at once to administer what he regarded was just and necessary discipline. He summoned Henry to appear before him, and then asked him why he did not obey when he was instructed to wear his sweater. Henry declared he did not hear his father give the command; and the latter interpreted this to indicate that the boy was not only disobedient, but that he was also untruthful. Consequently, he forbade Henry to go upon the ice again for a week. Meanwhile he should not leave his house to play with other boys, and his companions would not be permitted to come to play with him. In dismissing Henry after giving him his penalty the father upbraided him for indifference to commands, and threatened to make the punishment more severe next time if he did not "do as he was told."

The boy left his father, feeling that he had been dealt with unjustly. Of course, the penalty was disagreeable; and

why should it have been administered at all? The father had not really commanded Henry, according to the latter's remembrance of the matter. But was the boy lying, or had he really forgotten the command altogether? From the father's standpoint it was absolutely impossible that he should not have heard and understood the command. But the chances are that Henry really did not hear appreciatively what was said to him. He heard sufficiently to make an automatic reply, but not to execute what was suggested, when this was different, as it actually was, from what he was engaged in at the moment. It is a simple matter of daily experience with most people that they perform numerous actions of which they are wholly unconscious at the time, and which they cannot afterward remember. When any one, either a child or an adult, is deeply absorbed in any object or activity, he may adapt himself mechanically to many familiar stimulations unrelated thereto, but without really appreciating what he is doing. Ask him afterwards what he did on this occasion, and he may not be able to tell you, for it was not a matter of conscious execution at all. In the same way a boy may use the phrase "Yes, I will," but without being explicitly conscious of what is required of him or what he is saying. The test of whether he is appreciating or not is found in the expression of the eyes and face and the bodily attitudes, and not in the mere words themselves.

In all probability Henry was innocent on this particular occasion. The father was unquestionably at fault. He gave his suggestion in an off-hand way, under circumstances which made it a practical certainty that it would not take effect. The situation was aggravated because of the tendency of this parent to go about among his children, throwing out more or less unimportant commands right and left, and then not following most of them up with appropriate treatment in the event that they were not obeyed. Consequently the children had acquired a rather indifferent attitude toward the majority of

How indifference to commands is developed in children

his suggestions; they were given so frequently that they had lost their impressiveness. It is a simple law of human nature that any oft-repeated stimulation tends to become weakened in its effect, provided that it runs counter to the usual current and natural trend of the individual's life. It is easily possible, then, that a person, even an adult, may get into the habit of responding conformably in a perfunctory manner to commands or exhortations, but without really intending either to obey or disobey. Nature seems to protect an individual who is in an environment where he is constantly stimulated in this way, by leading him to react verbally and automatically to these rather unimportant stimulations, and then devote himself to matters that are really vital, as he conceives them to be at the moment. This principle can be seen operating in many a home and school with respect to the particular problem under consideration here.

The moral is not difficult to draw. In the first place it is disastrous to the development of ready and effective obedience in a child to be showering commands upon him constantly, most of which he can and probably ought to ignore with impunity. The inevitable result must be that he will in time become unresponsive to even important instructions when issued by any one. It is not that he deliberately sets himself against the will of his elders or superiors; the trouble is that his will is not awakened at all with reference to their requests, and his conduct cannot be criticised in respect to the matter of obedience.

Experience and psychology alike indorse the proposition that for the welfare of the child in his learning cheerful compliance with the demands of lawful authority, orders should be but infrequently issued to him, and they should always be given under conditions which will insure that the child thoroughly comprehends them and realizes their meaning and importance. That is to say, a command must be made to dislodge everything from the focus of conciousness

at the moment it is given. A wise parent or teacher, then, will be cautious about giving directions to a child when he is dominated by some strong idea or feeling. Under such circumstances the behest should be deferred, or else the child's attention should be completely gained, and the verbal statement should be reinforced by appropriate facial expression, bodily attitudes, and vocal timbre. In brief, the command should be made to take effect in the child's consciousness; then if he does not execute it, he will be disobedient; but otherwise he will simply be uninfluenced by it.

Qualities essential in a successful trainer

Our discussion leads us now to mention some of the general qualities which a trainer must possess in order to exert proper control over the young. First and foremost, a successful trainer must have mother love in a large sense, intelligent sympathy, a warm heart, Promethean fire. He must possess genuine, rational affection for humanity. Here is a trainer one often meets whose thoughts are too much upon self and too little upon others, except as he seeks to use them to further his personal ends, unconscious as he may be of his own attitudes; he is self-centred, isolated, cold. But here again is a quite different type of person, one who has a fine sort of feeling for people. He is outward-tending in his life and manner; his mind dwells not upon his personal concerns to the exclusion of the interests of his children. He is not constantly wondering what the world thinks of him, and whether he is receiving proper "respect" and "obedience" from his flock. These things he takes to be right and as matters of course. Thus, being indifferent of self, he is most considerate of others. This is of the nature of mother love, and it must be implanted in the heart before the individual sets out on the journey of life. This instinct alone gives that delicate, ready action in momentous situations which decides the fate for good or ill of training. Mother love is kind; it is not puffed up; it is long-suffering and generous; but it is always strong and

effective; it is lightning-quick in estimating conditions and deciding upon the course of action appropriate thereto.

Hamlet as a type of trainer

There is another grace which should adorn those who train the young, and which, in greater or less part, is a gift of nature and not of culture. It is the attribute of resoluteness, of decisiveness. It is the power of summoning all one's wits and energies in the face of critical situations, and driving straight to the desired goal. Hamlet would never have succeeded as a teacher; he was too halting in his actions, too deferential to his intellect, too statical. There are many Hamlets in the schoolrooms of this country, who stand sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought when immediate and decisive action alone will carry the day. Students of psychology now conceive of a human being as comprised of a triune nature. On the one side he is receptive of sensory stimulations from the world without his own being; on the other he is judicial, — he weighs, estimates, considers; and finally and practically, he is executive, active, motor. The first two departments of his being exist for the sake of the third; life is real and earnest, full of practical values, and its end lies in conduct, in action, not in mere reception or contemplation. The most efficient trainer is the one who "thinks" just enough and rapidly enough to guide his action aright and without delay. And the rightfulness of many acts, as James has said, can be determined only by testing them; while others, in the well-balanced mind, spring forth from the depths thereof, and go straight to the mark without let or hindrance from the discursive reason. Now, with Hamlet, the judicial part of his being had become severed from the active part, and he was weakened thereby, at least when he was called upon to deal with practical situations. He was too inward tending; all his experiences were judged from a purely subjective point of view. He was an egoistic-introspective type, one in whom the whole delicate machinery of wise instincts was thrown out of gear, so that he could not cope with the world in any effective way.

And this characteristic cannot but impress a child as incompetence, as weakness; for, after all, people, young and old, are influenced by those who have masterly possession of themselves in action when this is needed; in whom there may be on occasion, which presents itself so frequently in school and home, a sort of totalizing of all the powers and capabilities of one's being. We have already seen that those who in their demeanor in the exigencies of daily life exhibit marked strength and harmony of powers carry everything before them. Antagonistic tendencies in pupils are set at rest in the presence of great vigor of this kind.

Relation between the child and his trainer

It will be proper now to inquire whether the child should habitually react toward his trainer, whether parent or teacher or minister, as one of whom he stands in awe, or as one whom he regards as a companion and even a playmate. We may here glance at Locke's views relating to this point, since he is the most illustrious representative of the doctrine that the child must not at the outset feel at all familiar with those who train him, lest they lose their authority over him. Says Locke:—

> I imagine every one will judge it reasonable that their Children, *when little*, should look upon their Parents as their Lords, their absolute Governors, and as such stand in awe of them; and that when they come to riper Years, they should look upon them as their best, or their only sure Friends, and as such love and reverence them. . . . If therefore a strict Hand be kept over Children *from the Beginning*, they will in Age be tractable, and quietly submit to it, as never having known any other: And if as they grow up to the Use of Reason, the Rigour of Government be, as they deserve it, gently relax'd, the Father's Brow more smooth'd to them, and Distance by Degrees abated, his former Restraints will increase their Love, when they find it was only a kindness to them, and a Care to make them capable to deserve the Favour of their Parents, and the Esteem of every Body else.[1]

In our own country, as we have already seen, we are not

[1] Locke, *Education*, Quick, sec. 41.

following Locke's advice, for most people treat their children as though they were their equals. American children do not as a rule stand in awe of their parents, or really of their teachers, their ministers, or any one else in the community. In Germany and England, however, the situation is quite different; and the outcome upon the conduct of the young is apparent. English and German children are more "respectful" and obedient than they are with us, but our children are more original, forceful, and independent, — so much so, indeed, in some cases that they are incessantly in conflict with the representatives of authority in the home, the school, and the church. There is no doubting the fact that our young people are more competent, in the large sense of the term, than those of any European country, but they are at the same time more "disorderly," and less inclined to adjust themselves to the existing condition of things. They are more boisterous, self-assertive, and inconsiderate of persons and customs than are the young people of any other country probably. While there may be many factors coöperating to produce these characteristic traits of American children, yet one factor is unquestionably more potent than any other: with us parents do not keep aloof from their children, they do not assume the attitude of governors toward them, as they do elsewhere. Here the father makes a playmate of his boy, and the latter rarely acquires a feeling of awe toward the former. It is the common practice for the father to "josh" his boys, who pay back in kind. They wrestle together, compete in every sort of game, play practical jokes freely on one another, address one another as though they were on terms of absolute equality, instead of one being ruler and the other subject.

In this give and take between father and son there is at the time being no restraint on either side, because of a sense of one being superior to the other; any one who will observe the current of life in a typical American home may easily note this fact. If an Englishman or a German

happens into such a home when conventionalities are laid aside (which is the usual thing), he is more or less shocked at the apparent irreverence of the children, who talk to their parents as they talk to their playmates. The salutation "Sir" or "Ma'am" is almost entirely abandoned in American homes and schools, though the equivalents thereof are retained in most foreign countries. In an older day in our own country children always showed their deference to their father by addressing him on all occasions with "Sir." But to-day if the typical father asks his seven-year-old son, say, such a question as "Did you have good lessons at school to-day?" the boy does not respond with "Yes, sir," or "Yes, father," but with "You bet," or "It was bum work to-day." Thus have the times changed in respect to the outward relations, at any rate, between parents and their children.

Can leadership and companionship be combined in the same individual?

The reader has without doubt anticipated a certain difficulty toward which we have been drifting in our discussion. On previous occasions it has been said that comradeship between trainer and child is more favorable to sound social development than formal, conventional politeness or respect, which can be observed only when the child stands in awe of his elders. But if the boy makes a companion of his father and his teacher, will the latter be able to guide him in seasons of storm and stress in the effort to adjust himself to his social environment? While the child is to some extent educated by his companions, still the latter are absolutely incapable of keeping him growing on steadily until he reaches the highest point in social development. If a child had only companions to urge him on, he would early suffer arrest in his evolution along every line. Adaptation to the complex phases of the social, the intellectual, or the industrial environment is a difficult process, and it will not be achieved by any individual unless he will respond to a force which will urge him forward when on his own

initiative he would come betimes to a halt. We must recognize the fact that, if left to himself, the child would inevitably stop on a low plane of development, and contact with persons on the basis of mere companionship would not keep him growing until he had reached the level of the social environment about him. So it is not dogmatic to say that there *must* be those who stand in such a relation to the individual that they can and will coerce him when necessary, and he will not resist them, but will readily follow their leading.

Is it posssible to combine in the same individual the qualities of a leader and of a companion? Can a father be a "good fellow" with his boys, and train them in right living at the same time? Can a teacher be as one of the group on the playground, but a guide and master in the schoolroom? Every reader can doubtless call to mind some persons who are capable of meeting these requirements, but they are not as frequently met with as one could wish. Unquestionably human nature is so constituted that it cannot, as a rule, change readily from an attitude of give and take on terms of complete equality to the attitude of leader, or of disciplinarian when correction is essential. But the really competent trainer can do this. He can be on the most familiar terms with his children when the occasion permits of play relations; but when the situation demands coercion, or penalizing, he can assume the attitudes essential to the efficient performance of the task. In this way he can lead his children to properly evaluate their experiences and the various lines of conduct which they might pursue. But one who is either "easy" or severe under all circumstances cannot give the young the right perspective in viewing the varied possibilities of action presented to them.

In our American life we need to cultivate the type of trainer who can be a playfellow and at the same time a leader. It is too early, perhaps, to say what will be the outcome of our method of making friends and equals of our

children; but it seems safe to predict that if we can keep our control over them so that we can secure their constant growth until they have assimilated all the best the race has achieved, we will make them all the more capable and happy, if we may so speak, because of our cordiality with them. Those children develop in a more optimistic and joyous way apparently who are not constantly repressed and oppressed by their superiors. One is struck with this fact as he studies child-life in different European countries, and notes how in some instances the constant dread of discipline from stern, unbending authority sobers and even saddens childhood and youth. On the other hand, where authority is utterly lax children are likely to go so far in their spontaneity that they come frequently into conflict with the established social order, and they grow irritable and discontented. There is a median way which the wise trainer will attempt to pursue. He will at one time put aside entirely his adult austerity and stiffness, and enter completely into the absolutely unconventional activities of his children; but at another time he will hold them to exact and unvarying conformity to all the principles of action essential to their sound intellectual, moral, and physical development.

A danger in American life

In this connection attention should be called to certain tendencies in American life which indicate that we are not keeping our children plastic and educable as long as we should. It is perhaps a familiar fact that the young of the lower races of men mature much earlier than the children of highly developed peoples. Among some of the more primitive African tribes boys and girls discharge many of the functions of men and women before they have reached their teens. They are beginning to take on adult traits at an age when our own children are just entering school. Of course, the effect of early maturing, as was pointed out in another chapter,[1] is to put a stop betimes to development; and this is without question true of individuals

[1] Chapter xiii.

among civilized peoples as it is of races. As we have seen, the children on the streets of a great city tend to reach adulthood, physically and mentally, several years before those living under less stimulating conditions. Observation in European countries will probably convince any one that those nations that keep the young plastic, and so educable, for the longest period are unquestionably the most vigorous, prosperous, and progressive in every way.

Happily the trend in our own country thus far has been in the direction of lengthening the maturing process. A few decades ago the grammar school marked the close of the developing period for the great body of children, but we see now that a constantly increasing proportion of them remain in the assimilative attitude until they complete the secondary school and the college. Our people are probably committed to the policy of constantly extending the educational period for all our children; but there are forces at work in our educational system which are threatening to counteract the beneficial results of a lengthened school course. At this time it is the intention to refer only to the adoption of adult attitudes, interests, and activities by pupils in the elementary and high-school stage of development. Many observers of college customs are deploring the prevalence of practices hostile to the student temper of mind, — smoking, drinking, gambling, and political and social excesses. A considerable proportion of the students in our higher institutions receive comparatively little profit from their college course. They are not in the learning attitude ; they are too sophisticated. They have sampled life in all its aspects, and they have largely lost interest in acquiring what the race has discovered that may make life richer for the individual and for society. All they do in fulfillment of college requirements is done in a more or less formal and mechanical way. They are blasé before they have completed the period of youth, a catastrophe which probably happens often when the ripening process proceeds too rapidly. If adult activities be not assumed until

full maturity of mind and body is reached, they tend indefinitely to have a wholesome interest for the individual; but it is quite different when the boy becomes a man in experience before nature intended he should.

Harmful as early sophistication is in the college, it is little short of a disaster in the elementary or even in the high school. One of our most serious problems in American education to-day is found right here. From every section of the country come loud complaints from teachers concerning the evil results of the general introduction into secondary schools of fraternities and sororities, inter-academic athletics, gambling, "proms" and balls, smoking clubs, and the like. The high school is aping the college in these respects, and even going beyond its excesses. Boys and girls still in the preliminary stages of physical and intellectual development are indulging in certain of the dissipations of adults, and in consequence thereof they are losing their enthusiasm for the developing activities that should occupy them mainly at this time. The testimony from every quarter is to the effect that the legitimate work of the secondary school is seriously threatened by the invasion of these extraneous interests, and there is a demand for heroic measures in order to keep the lives of our pupils simple and plastic and assimilative.

The evil of early sophistication

Parents are largely at fault in this matter, for they often encourage their children in their attempts to be "exclusive," and to mimic their elders in forming secret societies, attending theatres, balls, and the like. They refuse to cooperate with teachers in their efforts to keep high-school life simple and wholesome, and adapted to continuous development. Principals report that parents often take delight in the thought that their girls are in a high-school sorority, and attend balls, and have "beaux," while a neighbor's girls are not invited. Such parents provide dances for high-school boys and girls, and they encourage late hours and other excesses practiced by adults. The excuse offered for

this sort of thing is that young people ought to have diversion, and it is argued that the activities of the ballroom are more diverting than anything else; but teachers say that pupils who frequent the ballroom are incapable of effective work in the school.

Students of human development are universally agreed that when the relations between the sexes which the ballroom encourages become prominent early in adolescence, the result will not be beneficial either to mind or to body. This does not imply that boys and girls are to be separated in their work, but there is a difference between their solving together problems in science or history or literature, and meeting in a ballroom for the sole purpose of personal contact. No people have ever long endured among whom the ballroom, and the relations which it develops, occupied an important place during the period of early youth. Speaking generally, when an adolescent catches the dancing fever, and it runs its course, his mental evolution ceases betimes. It is perhaps about as disastrous when he acquires a professional interest in an athletic team, either as a player or as a "rooter" for a team. Everything of this sort operates to stifle interest in the less exciting situations presented in science or history or literature; but the mastery of these latter interests is absolutely essential for the welfare alike of the individual and of society.

Parents are their children's worst enemies when they encourage them in adopting adult practices in their tender years. The normal boy and girl will really enjoy the experience of being initiated into a secret society more if they wait until they have completed the high school at least. The adolescent will find wholesome pleasure, and genuine upbuilding pleasure, in a simple, assimilative, unsophisticated régime, if the people in any community will agree to preserve the high-school epoch from these practices of maturity, which are now giving us so much trouble. The aim must be to keep the period of youth teachable, so that the

thoughts of the individual may be turned toward the things of the school, and away from mere temporary interests. In a certain city in the Middle West, in which sororities and fraternities and athletic teams have flourished, the major part of the thought and energy of a large proportion of the students is devoted to these extra-school diversions. The spirit among these pupils is unwholesome, and detrimental to their full development, as is shown in the career of a number of them after they have left the high school.

Since dancing has been mentioned, it will be proper to speak of it further here, for it is one of the most important problems in the high school to-day. It will probably not be news to any reader to hear that people — boys and girls, men and women — have always been interested in the dance. Even among primitive men, where the struggle for survival is keen, dancing is a favorite pastime. Many of the religious ceremonies of races like our Indians are based upon the dance. In all their celebrations dancing in some form furnishes the primary means of amusement and of social intercourse. This is doubtless due to the fact that through the dance groups of people can be unitized and harmonized, as they can hardly be so easily and effectively in any other way. When the members of a group all act in unison in response to any sort of rhythm, they cease to a greater or less extent to be isolated, and to act as individuals in opposition or indifference to one another. All who participate in the dance are brought into accord in action, and to some extent in feeling. Even such a simple act among children as "keeping step" to the beat of a drum is an organizing and harmonizing influence.

Concerning dancing

There is, of course, a rich emotional effect from responding to rhythm, which makes the dance so pleasurable to most persons, particularly to youth. It is probable also that dancing is of great value in physical development; and it is certainly beneficial to the nervous system, if not carried to excess. People who have danced know that when one

is "nervous," dancing often enables him to "get hold of himself" again. It helps him to totalize his energies, and to discipline his nerves through rhythmical expression. Of course, in contemporary life, as perhaps among primitive people, dancing may come to occupy too prominent a place in the individual's activities, when its potential value may be lost. But this indicates simply that it should not be left to be practiced by people under unduly exciting conditions and only on rare occasions, for then even temperate persons are likely to go to excess. It should become a part of their daily lives, and should be regarded as of marked hygienic and educational value.

Folk dances in the schools

Unhappily, dancing in present-day society has become confined to a very narrow range of movements. In an older day, not farther back than the time of our grandfathers, dancers indulged in a much richer and more varied programme than they now do. And to go back still farther, the folk dances of our ancestors comprised a wealth of rhythmical expressions which have been lost out of modern life completely, so far as the dancing of either young or mature people is concerned. In our day, even among pinafore boys and girls, the dance is confined almost wholly to the movements of the waltz and the two-step, which are extremely meagre in variety. Indeed, they may be said to lack variety altogether. In the execution of these dances only two persons come into relation with one another, whereas in the dances of our grandfathers, — the minuets, the reels, the so-called square dances, etc., — many persons assumed rhythmical and social attitudes toward each other at one and the same time. Compared with these earlier dances, the present-day waltz and two-step seem degenerate in the extreme. They lack richness and vitality, alike for the development of rhythmical movement in the individual, and for the cultivation of grace and courtesy in social adjustment. One might be able to dance the two-step or the waltz acceptably, and be neither grace-

ful nor courteous in any large sense; but this would be impossible in respect to the dances of a more varied character, where a dozen persons, say, are brought into adjustment with one another in any one dance.

So there is not much to be said in favor of the modern waltz and two-step for high-school boys and girls, and still less for younger children. But happily new interest is developing in the dances of our ancestors, and especially the folk dances. The passion for dancing which appears during the high-school epoch could be gratified in a beneficial way by the introduction of folk dances into the high school, making them a part of the daily work of every student. The writer has observed these dances in a number of schools in different parts of the country, and he has found that teachers and pupils alike are interested in them, and praise them for their social and physical value, as well as for the pure delight they afford. They are better adapted than formal gymnastics to the needs of high-school boys and girls, and they are much less expensive to conduct, for they require no special apparatus, though it is imperative that there should be a good-sized room free from obstructions in which they may be executed. A class may pass from a recitation room directly into the gymnasium, and utilize fifteen or twenty minutes to the greatest advantage in dancing. Under the guidance of a good teacher any one pupil will be required to adjust himself in courteous relations with many of his classmates during the fifteen-minute drill. The entire physical organism of the pupil will be refreshed by the experience, and the work of the classroom will be attacked with greater vim and success than if the pupil had no opportunity to indulge in this exquisite form of physical movement. This is a perfectly feasible sort of physical exercise for secondary schools; and if it can be well done it will aid in controlling the evil to which reference has been made, — dancing the waltz and two-step to excess.

Résumé

In training the young, conflicts frequently arise because the child, controlled by impulse and lacking experience, cannot appreciate the adult point of view. Consequently he thinks the latter's demands are often arbitrary and unnecessary. In all training the following attitudes are of primary importance: a recognition of the strength and naturalness of children's desires; a firm hand in administering clear-cut rules of conduct; unyielding but sympathetic determination to lead a hesitant or rebellious child to see the reasonableness of any command without irritating him; and an effective use of suggestion.

In all training the voice and the manner of the trainer have a subtle power either to irritate the individual or to calm him and allure him into conformity with necessary rules. One's shortcomings repeatedly brought to his attention are likely to arouse his evil impulses, which tend to become established in his character.

Mere verbal corrections are apt to be ineffective, as words alone, when not reinforced by bodily attitudes and the like, are usually incapable of restraining the child's dominant ideas, emotions, and motor processes. Many of the commands issued by adults never reach the focus of consciousness of the child, because they are given at times and under circumstances when the child is wholly possessed by some idea or enterprise in which he is engaged. In this way indifference to commands is often developed in children. However, with development words as such become loaded with meaning, and acquire the power to move the individual to action. In the early years, words should be used sparingly and other forms of expression generously in all situations requiring discipline.

In the administration of discipline, personality is the most important factor. In a "strong" personality, quality of voice, size and proportion of body suggesting power, and features expressive of moral purpose and determination are important characteristics.

The effective teacher must possess by nature a generous amount of mother love, intelligent, warm-hearted sympathy, and the attribute of decisiveness.

Children cannot develop properly without constant leadership. Companionship alone would never lift the child to the highest plane of development. The really effective trainer, whether parent or teacher, can be both a leader and a companion of his children. A teacher or parent who can be a "good fellow" at times, at other times a guide, and at still other times a disciplinarian, will accomplish much more in his training than one who is either always stern and "on his dignity" or always lax and "easy."

In social training to-day in America we have to combat a tendency for the young to adopt betimes the interests, practices, and amusements of adults. Early sophistication means early arrest in mental

development. The elementary and the high school should be kept *simple;* adult tendencies should be eliminated. Once the assimilative attitude is lost in childhood, the individual's growth will be speedily terminated. Dancing is one of the serious evils in the secondary-school period, mainly because it is not adapted to the nature and needs of young people. The introduction of folk dancing into the schools would prove of great service.

CHAPTER XV

METHODS OF CORRECTION

THUS far we have spoken only of those methods of training and of control which seek to produce proper responses in the child without subjecting him to physical pain. But we cannot escape commenting on this latter means of government, which has played the leading rôle in all times in the correction of juvenile errors. From the earliest times of which we have any record, the rod has been an apparently indispensable instrument of discipline. Scourging, flogging, castigation have been fine arts in their day; and to be skillful in the use of the scutica, the bastinado, the ferule, the flagellum, the knout, the spatula, the birch, and similar appliances was, in an earlier period of human development, regarded as the highest accomplishment in one who aspired to teach the young idea how to shoot. As late as Dickens's time the chief occupation of schoolmasters seemed to be chastising their pupils, and the methods of Dotheboys Hall were in fashion in all parts of the world. The prevailing conception of the schoolmaster in many localities to-day is as a wielder of the rod. The newspapers in some sections still announce gatherings of school-teachers in terms which indicate that their vocation consists chiefly in flogging youth.

The rod as a means of correction

But in the evolution of the race there has been a gradual growth away from corporal punishment as a mode of control of wrong-doing. Society has found that the whipping-post, at least when it is not supplemented by other corrective agencies, does not reform juvenile offenders, as Morrison[1] and others have conclusively shown. Comparatively few progressive countries now make use of public whipping as a

[1] See his *Juvenile Offenders*.

form of punishment for young criminals.[1] In England, Birmingham is said still to retain the whipping-post, but it is claimed this city has a larger percentage of young criminals in proportion to its population than any other city in England. There are those who believe, though, that flagellation has played an important and beneficial rôle in the development of the English people. One hears it said occasionally that great Englishmen owe their eminence to their flogging in school as much as to anything else. However, most competent students of the subject to-day seem to attribute the vigor and integrity of the English character more to native endowment and to the training on the athletic field than to the virtues of the rod.

The tendency in our own country

In our own country it is probable that both theory and practice are inclining toward the employment of other means than whipping to turn the young into paths of virtue, though distinguished teachers like President Hall still believe in the curative properties of "Dr. Spankster's tonic." There are among us many men of experience in the control of childhood and youth who agree with President Hall; and there are also many who are on the other side. The differences of opinion, together with the prevailing sentiment, are seen in the following statements recently secured by the Board of Education of the city of New York in its discussion of corporal punishment as a means of correction in the schools of the metropolis. The statements are given as made by the writers, in order to show their particular experiences with the rod, and their reasons for retaining or abolishing it.

[1] Even in the training of animals now the rod is kept for very special occasions. The more intelligent animals are never "punished by chastisement"; a harsh word is enough, and the great danger is that it may prove too much. It is a matter requiring from the trainer a high degree of tact. Nor are the bolder felines whipped or clubbed to anything like the extent that is popularly supposed to be the case. Only when they are stubborn or show fight do they suffer. "Do not punish until you have to; then punish hard," is the training maxim. — Adams, "The Training of Lions, Tigers, and Other Great Cats," *McClure's Magazine*, September, 1900.

Andrew W. Edson, Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York : I do not believe that it is wise to give to principals or teachers the right to inflict corporal punishment upon children attending the public schools. It seems to me that the principal aim in school government is to train pupils to self-control and to prompt and willing obedience.

Clarence E. Meleney, Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York : I believe that corporal punishment is not a proper means to be used by a teacher to control a class, to correct improper conduct, or to inoculate right ideals. Such means have proved inadequate wherever employed. The infliction of corporal punishment by a teacher tends to alienate the pupils, to produce antagonism and resentment, and to make it harder for the teacher to win the regard of the pupils and to command their respect for the teacher's authority.

Edward B. Shallow, Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York : I favor corporal punishment as a means of last resort with certain pupils not attending the schools. If a boy's conduct becomes intolerable in school, after all means to correct him have failed, and he becomes impudent to his teacher or the principal, our only way of correcting him now is to expel him from school, place him in a truant school, and support him well at public expense. There are certain children over whom their own parents have absolutely no control. These children cannot be reached by any kind of moral suasion. They do not know what it is to obey ; they grow up in defiance of law and order, and when they leave school they attempt to break laws, and only a policeman's club can subdue them. Would it not be better as a measure of final resort to have a little cutaneous infliction on these fellows while they are in school ?

Gustave Straubenmuller, Associate Superintendent of Schools, New York : I am opposed to the pedagogy of the rod, although I am fully conscious of a " decadence of positive authority " in all walks of life. Principally opposed because the rod has been done away with in the army, navy, most private schools, penal institutions, etc., with good effect on those institutions ; also for hygienic reasons. It is usually the weak and inexperienced teacher who resorts to the rod; the whipped child does not regard his wrong act as the cause of pain, but looks upon the teacher as the cause of punishment.

D. L. Bardwell, District Superintendent of Schools, New York : All discipline from without must lead to self-control from within or utterly fail. Discipline by corporal punishment never leads to self-restraint. The " bad boy " gets quite too many cuffs and other forms of corporal punishment now. The occasional case who might seem to be helped by corporal punishment should not stand in the way of the vastly greater number who would be injured by the restoration of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment, where resorted to, almost invariably weakens the real power and influence of the one inflicting it.

John J. Chickering, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: I believe the necessity for its actual infliction seldom arises, but when it does arise it should be thoroughly done by a rattan or rawhide in the hands of the principal.

John W. Davis, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: The punishment should be inflicted by the principal, in my opinion, with the rattan. There is far less respect for law than there was when I, as a pupil, attended the schools. At that time the principals had authority to inflict corporal punishment.

Edward D. Farrell, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: I never knew a stupid boy that improved in his lessons through the assistance of the rod. I never knew a bad boy that was reformed by the rod. It may have had an educational value or a restraining influence, but its efficacy in these respects escaped my notice.

John Griffin, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: It is the parental and natural method. The fear of punishment is the only deterrent that restrains a wayward child. By educational association the normal child acquires a habit of well-doing, but this habit is not instinctive. In a well-disciplined school the use of the rod would be very infrequent.

Julia Richman, District Superintendent, New York: It is a retrogressive step in the progress of civilization. It degrades both the pupil and the officer inflicting the punishment. To be effective it must be so severe as to run the risk of being brutal. If a deterrent, it achieves its purpose only through fear, and not through the development of self-control on the part of the pupil.

A. T. Schauffler, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: There are numerous cases of pupils whose home and street influences are not helpful to them, and whose only conception of authority is the power to punish. As the compulsory law makes it necessary for these pupils to be retained in the schools, if not placed in a truant school, effective means for securing proper respect and obedience are absolutely necessary. Probably not more than one in fifty of these cases would require the actual application of the rod; but the fact that some one has the right to use it would be a sufficient deterrent from disobedience and insubordination.

Edgar Dubs Shimer, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: No. It tends to brutalize both teacher and pupil. Even in the training of horses blows are not permissible.

Seth T. Stewart, District Superintendent of Schools, New York: A little corporal punishment would be a great blessing to many a bad boy. Sparing the rod will, under present conditions, spoil the city, by giving it gradually a large number of young desperadoes, the only way to reach whom would be through the much greater curse contained in a sentence to jail or the House of Refuge.

Charles W. Cole, Superintendent of Schools, Albany : No. The decided improvement in good order in the classrooms, and the diminution in the number of cases of discipline, as well as the clearer moral atmosphere of the schools, are, in my opinion and in that of the great majority of our principals and classroom teachers, largely due to the abolition of corporal punishment in the year 1892.

W. L. Sterling, Superintendent of Schools, Albuquerque : I do. In every community, so far as my experience has gone, I have found undisciplined children, with whom no argument prevails save corporal punishment.

John Morrow, Superintendent of Schools, Allegheny : Yes, when it is necessary. Either corporal punishment should be permitted or outlaws should be immediately ejected from the school. I have no sympathy whatever with the namby-pamby policy that will tolerate one or more unruly pupils taking the time and energy of the teacher that ought to be devoted to the school. The decent children have some right to be respected.

William M. Slater, Superintendent of Schools, Atlanta : Yes. Children in the grammar schools are too young to be controlled entirely by reason. The home environment of many of them demands corporal punishment. Of course, moral suasion will prevail usually with children in grammar grades.

James H. Van Sickle, Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore : Our teachers have become better teachers since they ceased to rely upon force. The best teachers have never needed to resort to corporal punishment.

M. P. White, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Boston : Yes, to save the boy ; to save the school ; to save the community. It should be used rarely and with judgment.

James E. Bryan, Superintendent of Schools, Camden, N. J. : Nine years' experience with corporal punishment and nine years' experience without have convinced me that the conditions that exist without it are preferable to those with it. The school has a stronger and higher influence, the teacher takes a higher position in the public mind, and the parent takes a higher view of the function of the school in the community. The pupil's respect for the school is likewise heightened. Teachers grow stronger as a better grade of ability is required.

Edwin G. Cooley, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago : Unnecessary and brutal.

F. B. Dyer, Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati : Yes, before the age of adolescence.

William H. Elson, Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland : The legal privilege to use it should be given. In practice it should be avoided, but it should not be resorted to except in rare cases of violation of the rule governing the same.

C. N. Kendall, Superintendent of Schools, Indianapolis : Teachers should avoid corporal punishment when good discipline can be preserved by milder means.

James Q. Palmer, Superintendent of Schools, Jacksonville, Fla. : Yes. The majority of teachers could not control their pupils if it was known that no corporal punishment was allowed (speaking from my experience alone).

Henry Snyder, Superintendent of Schools, Jersey City : No. Unnecessary. Control is better without it. Brutal. Governs by fear, not by love.

M. E. Pearson, Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Kansas : No, indeed. It is not right ; it is not wise ; it is not pedagogical ; public opinion will not sustain it.

E. C. Moore, Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles : In the extreme cases. I believe that corporal punishment should not be abolished, but should not be used. It is nearing a vanishing point in Los Angeles. With an attendance in all of thirty-five thousand, we had but 254 whippings last year, and the number grows much smaller each year.

E. H. Mark, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville : Yes, if properly restricted. There are very few cases in our schools requiring the use of corporal punishment. As a rule this punishment is resorted to in too trivial cases, and many times when the one administering it is angry.

Arthur K. Whitcomb, Superintendent of Schools, Lowell, Mass.: As permissible under some circumstances, yes. In my own work as master of a large grammar school I found that the right to use corporal punishment in extreme cases was a great help, but I made great efforts to avoid making any use of the privilege. In my last teaching I did not, indeed, inflict corporal punishment at all.

H. C. Weber, Superintendent of Schools, Nashville : There comes a time, no matter how long deferred, when the will of the child is rebellious to authority and no argument seems to reach the case. It then becomes necessary to resort to one of two expedients, either corporal punishment or exclusion.

S. S. Murphy, Superintendent of Schools, Mobile, Ala. : Yes, for boys. There are certain boys in every school who require punishment ; and corporal punishment, judiciously administered, tends to hold in check such pupils.

C. Henry Kain, Associate Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia : Where corporal punishment is allowed the abuses are likely to be so great as to overbalance any possible good that might result. There are reflex influences upon both teacher and pupils which are undoubtedly bad. No teacher or principal can administer corporal punishment to a pupil and then go calmly on with the regular duties of the school-

room. The resulting disturbance of the teacher's mind must inevitably affect the character of the recitations which succeed.

W. H. Brownson, Superintendent of Schools, Portland, Maine: In Portland we reduce corporal punishment to its lowest possible terms. It is used only as a last resort when other means fail. In the districts where we have the most unruly boys, an extreme case would mean either corporal punishment or expulsion from school. By the former we are often able to keep the boy in school two or three years longer than we could without it, and this seems worth while. There might be some teachers who could maintain discipline in such schools if the boys understood that they could not be whipped, but the average teacher would find herself unable to properly govern her pupils without resort to frequent expulsion.

W. H. Small, Superintendent of Schools, Providence: There are times in a boy's life when physical pain only seems to bring him to himself and his relations to others. It is at these rare times that it should be used.

William F. Fox, Superintendent of Schools, Richmond, Va.: Yes. I believe that other means of discipline as far as practicable should be used, but there seems to come a time when nothing will answer except the rod.

Frank B. Cooper, Superintendent of Schools, Seattle, Wash.: There are some cases which corporal punishment, properly administered, will reach, and no other means seems to be effective.

J. A. Whiteford, Superintendent of Schools, St. Joseph, Mo.: Yes, for cases where other remedies will not avail. It is not a specific for every ill, and its use often does harm. However, it is very much like a well-conducted home. A father should not tell his boys that he dares not switch them if they need it, although he may never have occasion. He should not say what might happen, but leave them to think he is the head of the house.

F. Louis Soldan, Late Superintendent of Instruction, St. Louis: In answer to your specific question: I believe it proper in exceptional cases where all other means have failed, and where the choice is between corporal punishment and driving the child out of school.

S. L. Heeter, Superintendent of Schools, St. Paul: I do not believe in free-handed use of corporal punishment, and I doubt the wisdom of granting the privilege of corporal punishment to teachers, but I do believe that such privileges should be given to principals to be used in extreme cases.

A. B. Blodgett, Superintendent of Schools, Syracuse, N. Y.: Brutalizing and unsafe.

John J. Blair, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, N. C.: There is some penalty which should stand as a severe punishment for grievous offenses, such as impertinence and the offering of insult to a lady teacher.

Homer P. Lewis, Superintendent of Schools, Worcester, Mass.: It is often less injurious in its effects than other forms of punishment. It best meets the impertinent and defiant attitude on the part of the pupil. Where corporal punishment is not allowed in the schools, in a majority of cases parents inflict corporal punishment for school offenses, but not so wisely as the teachers. As obedience is the chief virtue of the child, the discipline that best secures this is best.

In this connection it will be of interest to examine the practices with respect to the use of the rod in American cities of over one hundred thousand inhabitants.[1]

City.	Regulation.
Allegheny, Pa.	To be avoided when obedience and good order can be preserved by milder measures. Full and accurate record required to be kept, which at all times must be subject to inspection of any member of the board or a parent of a pupil in attendance.
Baltimore, Md. . . .	Forbidden.
Boston, Mass.	Forbidden in high schools and kindergartens, and as to girls in any school. In any case, restricted to blows upon the hand with a rattan. Each case must be reported through the principal to the superintendent.
Buffalo, N. Y.	The schools must be governed, as far as possible, without corporal punishment, special permission of the superintendent necessary for any other than a principal or an assistant principal to administer punishment.
Chicago, Ill.	Forbidden.
Cincinnati, Ohio . . .	May not be inflicted for failures in lessons or recitations. Blows on head or violent shaking of pupils prohibited.
Cleveland, Ohio . . .	Forbidden, except in unclassified schools, where it is permitted when principal and superintendent consent.
Columbus, Ohio . . .	Allowed when all other means have failed. To be inflicted in schoolroom by pupil's teacher, the principal being the judge of special cases.
Denver, Colo.	Teachers are required to consult with and to get the approval of the principal before administering corporal punishment. The child's parent and the superintendent must be promptly informed by letter.

[1] See *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1904, pp. 2285–2287.

City.	Regulation.
Detroit, Mich.	Must be avoided if possible. Must not be inflicted without full knowledge and consent of principal.
Fall River, Mass.	May be inflicted when milder measures fail. Must not ordinarily be administered in presence of school. Record of each punishment and offense must be sent to superintendent for inspection of the board.
Indianapolis, Ind.	Must be avoided as far as possible. May be inflicted only in presence of principal, and must be immediately reported by him to superintendent.
Jersey City, N. J.	Forbidden.
Kansas City, Mo.	May be inflicted in cases of flagrant offenses, and then only after duly notifying parents or guardians of intended punishment; and if parent or guardian will administer punishment, so as to preserve discipline of the school, teacher must inflict no additional punishment. Must not be inflicted in presence of school, but at the close of session and in presence of two other teachers or the superintendent.
Los Angeles, Cal.	Must be avoided if possible; switch or strap to be used; blows upon face or head forbidden.
Louisville, Ky.	Forbidden.
Lowell, Mass.	To be inflicted only as a last resort.
Memphis, Tenn.	Must be avoided when good order can be preserved by milder measures.
Milwaukee, Wis.	Permitted as last resort by principal only. Excessive punishment and lonely confinement prohibited. Must not be inflicted in presence of class. All cases must be reported monthly to superintendent.
Minneapolis, Minn.	Permitted only when all other means fail. Principal only may inflict corporal punishment; then only when parents give written consent. Each case must be reported by principal to superintendent.
Newark, N. J.	Forbidden.
New Haven, Conn.	May be administered, with consent of principal, in extreme cases only, but never at same session of school at which the offense was committed. Cases to be reported monthly to superintendent.

City.	Regulation.
New Orleans, La. . . .	Restricted to male pupils below high school, and to be administered only after all other means have failed. Only principal, or assistant principal by authority of the former, have right to inflict. Restricted to the hands, and must not be inflicted in presence of class, or at time of offense. Monthly report to superintendent required.
New York, N. Y. . . .	Forbidden.
Omaha, Nebr.	Teachers are required to govern their pupils by kindness and appeals to their nobler affections and sentiments.
Paterson, N. J. . . .	Forbidden.
Philadelphia, Pa. . . .	There is no rule ; but corporal punishment is said to have been abandoned by common consent.
Pittsburg, Pa.	Not forbidden, but is inflicted only in extreme cases.
Providence, R. I. . . .	No pupil above primary liable, and in the latter only with written consent of parent or guardian. Each case must be reported to superintendent immediately, who causes an investigation to be made.
Rochester, N. Y. . . .	May be inflicted in extreme cases by the principal or, with his consent, by an assistant.
St. Joseph, Mo. . . .	Must be avoided as far as possible. Each case to be reported to principal and by him monthly to superintendent.
St. Louis, Mo.	Inflicted only with consent of principal, by either teacher or principal, presence of both being required. Authorized but not encouraged by the board, being left largely to the discretion of principal.
St. Paul, Minn..	Forbidden, except when necessary to repel violence.
San Francisco, Cal. . .	May not be inflicted in the high schools or upon girls in any schools. It is permitted only in extreme cases, and may be inflicted only by principals or by vice-principals with the consent of principals. Excessive punishment is prohibited, only a strap or a rattan being allowed.
Scranton, Pa.	Forbidden except in flagrant cases of disobedience and disorder. Not to be administered in presence of school, but some other teacher or the superintendent required to be present.

City.	Regulation.
Syracuse, N. Y. . . .	Forbidden.
Toledo, Ohio	Forbidden.
Washington, D. C. . .	Must be avoided if possible. All cases must be reported monthly to principal and through him and supervising principal to superintendent.
Worcester, Mass. . . .	Permitted only in extreme cases, then only when approved by principal or superintendent. Must not be inflicted in presence of school. Teachers are required to make and keep complete records of all cases.

The tendency in older countries

There is a marked difference of opinion among European schoolmasters regarding the value of the rod as a means of control. In Germany, one finds corporal punishment in general use, at least in the elementary schools; and the principle is recognized even in the secondary schools. The German teacher in every grade, from the kindergarten through the *gymnasium*, believes in "strict discipline." He is not in the least sentimental in his attitude toward his pupils; and if appearances can be relied upon, he would rather whip in cases of doubt than let an offender escape. The German instructor is not easily affected by the tears of his subjects; indeed, he seems to think a certain amount of chastisement is essential to the proper training of a child. Spontaneity, as the term is used among us, is not much in evidence in a German school. There pupils are required to do as they are commanded, and not as they might choose on their own initiative. The German seeks to train men and women who are obedient and respectful toward authority, and he does not hesitate to crush out originality or independence among children, wherever it is manifested in opposition to the rules and regulations under which one is supposed to conduct himself. The German school is essentially a military institution, and force is relied upon as the chief means of control.

Until recently, the rod was much in evidence in the schools of England. English satirists have chosen the schoolmaster as the chief object of their ridicule. They have represented him as a tyrant, a sanguinary monster, eager for the blood of his helpless victims. Let one go through English literature dealing in any way with school training, and he will be impressed, and it may be oppressed, by the prominent place occupied by the birch and the cane as instruments of education. In descriptions of schoolrooms, the only apparatus mentioned often are the ferule and the rod. But the times are changing. Dickens and others drove the rod almost, though not entirely, from the school. It is still used on occasion, even in such institutions as Eton and Rugby; but the schoolmasters in these schools say it is not necessary to resort to it often. Self-control and self-discipline are coming to be relied upon more and more largely; and though older boys do sometimes, in Eton for instance, flog their fags for carelessness or "freshness," still there is much less of this form of correction than there was when the present system was first put into effect. The use of physical pain as a method of discipline is declining, even in the hands of boys themselves.

The general tendency to restrict the use of the rod has gone farther in France than in any other country, so far as the knowledge of the present writer extends. There corporal punishment is absolutely prohibited in all public schools. One may go into schoolrooms in that country, and note a large placard in the front of the room, so that it can be read by all the pupils, bearing the following directions from the *Réglement des Ecoles primaires publiques*: —

Article 17.

Les punitions admises dans les écoles publiques sont (the punishments allowed in the public schools are): —

1. Les mauvais points. (Demerit marks.)
2. La réprimande. (Reproof.)

3. La privation partielle de la récréation. (Partial loss of recesses.)

4. La retenue après la classe du soir. (Detention after school.)

5. L'imposition d'un court devoir supplémentaire dans la famille. (The assignment of short tasks, supplementary to the regular school work, to be done at home.)

6. L'exclusion de trois jours au plus sous la seule responsabilité du Directeur de l'école. Avis en sera donné à la famille et à l'Inspecteur primaire. (The Director of the School may suspend the pupil for three days at most, notice of this to be sent to the parents and the inspector of elementary schools.)

Dans le cas d'inconduite notoire, cette peine pourra être portée de trois à huit jours avec l'assentiment de l'Inspecteur primaire. Avis en sera donné à la mairie et aux parents. (In the case of serious misconduct, suspension from school "May be exextended" from three to eight days, with the consent of the inspector of primary schools, notice to this effect to be sent to the parents and the mayor.)

Article 18.

Il est absolument interdit d'infliger aucun châtiment corporel. (Corporal punishment is absolutely forbidden).

When one asks the French schoolmasters whether the pupils, knowing they cannot be punished severely, do not take advantage of their teachers, he is told that no difficulty has been experienced from this source thus far. "We try to be fathers to our children," they say, "and our pupils appreciate it. When we cannot use the rod we find other means of control. We would not return to corporal punishment even if we were given the right so to do. Our pupils are much happier now than they were of old, when the rod was depended upon almost wholly in the discipline of pupils."

Now, it may be instructive to compare the conduct of French and German pupils in the schools. One difference between them will be readily apparent to any observer. There is a great deal more spontaneity among the French children, but the German children have a much more seri-

ous attitude toward their work. French schoolmasters find it necessary frequently to ask for the attention of their pupils, and to caution them against disturbing their classmates. But rarely does one hear a German teacher ask for attention, or exhort pupils to "behave themselves," or to apply themselves to their tasks, and the like. From the beginning of his school life the German child is made to feel that if he errs he will pay the penalty therefor in dermal pain, and this seems to make him eager to conform completely to the rules of the school. It is probable that the French schools would be somewhat more effective if they had a little of the German rigor of discipline; not too much of it, but enough to make pupils feel the need of applying themselves more faithfully to the tasks appropriate to the school. On the other hand, the German system seems to be lacking in that it crushes individuality and initiative, and it does not develop in pupils, taken as a whole, the ability to control themselves effectively when they escape from authority. In the universities all government of pupils from without is abandoned; each student may do as he chooses. Unfortunately the majority, perhaps, do not choose to apply themselves to university duties in an earnest, effective manner. In no institutions anywhere apparently are students more given to dissipation and riotous living than they are in these German universities, most of the members of which have been put through a rigorous system of training for from twelve to fifteen years. Probably the students at the Sorbonne, trained under a lax system of discipline, are as capable of controlling themselves and applying themselves to serious work as are the German students trained under a rigid military system. It would seem that, after all, the rod, whether extensively used as it is in some places, or prohibited as it is in others, is not the chief factor (though it doubtless plays a part) in determining self-control.

The results of experiments in European countries

To return to the prevailing practice in our own country, while we may rejoice heartily in all that has been achieved

in liberating childhood from the bondage of the rod, it is still possible that we have erred in thinking that the young react to coercion and corporal punishment as an adult does, and so that physical pain ought never to be employed as a means of control. One who in an unprejudiced spirit observes the child in all his daily struggles to adapt himself to the world, comes inevitably to believe that he is happiest when he concludes that he should yield without protest to the guidance of those wiser than he. When he persists in his own way, which is unhappily the way of darkness in considerable part,[1] — the philosophy of Froebel and Dickens to the contrary notwithstanding, — he finds himself in constant antagonism to his social environment. In the end, of course, he must fall into line or be ruled out altogether; but when his trainers take too sentimental a view of their duty, he is likely not to learn the lesson of ready compliance with rightful authority until it is too late. Unless the child has the experience and inhibition of the adult, he cannot be intrusted with adult freedom, in the sense that he can ignore authority, speaking now from the standpoint of his own welfare. The really happy child, after all, is the one who accepts his elders as his experience,

Is the pendulum swinging too far in our country?

[1] Spencer makes this point strong in his educational philosophy. "Why is education needed at all?" he asks in *Social Statics*, pp. 207, 208. "Why does not the child grow spontaneously into a normal human being? Why should it be requisite to curb this propensity, to stimulate the other sentiment, and thus by artificial aids to mould the mind into something different from what it would of itself become? . . . It is an indisputable fact that the moral constitution which fitted man for his original predatory state differs from the one needed to fit him for this social state, to which multiplication of the race has led. . . . The law of adaptation is effecting a transition from the one constitution to the other. Living then, as we do, in the midst of this transition, we must expect to find sundry phenomena which are explicable only upon the hypothesis that humanity is at present partially adapted to both these states, and not completely to either — has only in a degree lost the disposition needed for savage life, and has but imperfectly acquired those needed for social life. . . . The selfish squabbles of the nursery, the persecution of the playground, the lyings and petty thefts, the rough treatment of inferior creatures, the propensity to destroy — these imply that tendency to pursue gratification at the expense of other beings which qualified man for the wilderness, and which disqualified him for civilized life."

and acquiesces readily in their suggestions. If they are perfect in wisdom, and guide, not repress him, then will his happiness be perfect. But even if their vision be obscured in many ways, it is still best that he should readily follow their leading. The first lesson which is taught the young of any species of animal life is to do instantly what they are told to do by their elders, who chastise them if they do not obey. This seems a hardship at the moment, but it is a blessing in the long run, for without it survival would be impossible.

But suppose the child refuses to follow the leading of authority; what then? This problem gave Locke, as it has given most trainers of the young, more trouble than any other. He could forgive every deviation from conventional conduct in a child except obstinacy; but this he regarded as a grievous sin, that in the last resort must be cudgeled out of the child. His childish errors may be overlooked; there is no need to rate and vex him about his manners, they will take care of themselves; age alone will cure these faults.[1] But if he be obstinate, beat him; use the rod until you break his will. There is no middle ground; you must get the upper hands of your child. Rousseau condemned Locke's doctrine, and the followers of

The treatment of obstinacy

[1] "Nothing but Obstinacy should meet with any Imperiousness or rough Usage. All other Faults should be corrected with a gentle Hand; and kind engaging Words will work better and more effectually upon a willing Mind, and even prevent a good deal of that Perverseness which rough and imperious Usage often produces in well-disposed and generous Minds. 'T is true, Obstinacy and wilful Neglects must be mastered, even though it cost Blows to do it: But I am apt to think Perverseness in the Pupils is often the Effect of Frowardness in the *Tutor;* and that most Children would seldom have deserved Blows, if needless and misapplied Roughness had not taught them Ill-nature, and given them an Aversion for their Teacher and all that comes from him.

"Inadvertency, Forgetfulness, Unsteadiness, and Wandering of Thought, are the natural Faults of Childhood; and therefore, where they are not observed to be wilful, are to be mention'd softly, and gain'd upon by Time. If every slip of this kind produces Anger and Rating, the Occasion of Rebuke and Corrections will return so often, that the Tutor will be a constant Terror and Uneasiness to his Pupils. Which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his Lessons, and to defeat all his Methods of Instruction."—Locke, *Education*, Quick, p. 144.

Froebel regard it as cruel and inhuman. This seems to be a matter again of sentiment largely, — the interpretation of childish feeling from the adult standpoint. The experiences of unbiased parents and teachers, together with studies like those of Barnes and Darrah[1] upon children's views of punishment, lead one to think that they often regard whipping as the just and reasonable penalty for certain misdeeds. If it be plainly merited it probably does not crush the spirit of the offender, as the philosopher sitting in his armchair and working with preconceived premises sometimes reasons that it will. The administration of physical pain for insubordination is not regarded by children as the adult would regard it if it were inflicted upon him; and if a child is in continual conflict with his social environment because he insists on doing what in the nature of things he cannot do, and day after day there is verbal contest between himself and those who are responsible for his well-being, then would it not be better for all concerned occasionally to have the question of leadership definitely settled by the application of force if necessary?

Methods must be varied to meet individual peculiarities

It will not require much argument to convince any reader that it is not wise to use the same methods of correction and exhortation with all pupils indiscriminately. Take, for example, the case of the boy in the first grade, say, who has always "had his own way." His thoughts, his feelings, his very muscles have become surcharged with the autocratic temper. His experiences have given him no data for interpreting an order of things where he must follow instead of lead, and he must begin *ab initio* in learning this lesson. Of course, the teacher cannot expect that he will at once respond appropriately to his requests, as will the boy who has been trained in obedience in his home, and who has gained facility in carrying commands out into appropriate conduct. No one but a strong, capable person, and a patient one as well, can induce

[1] See *Studies in Education*, two volumes, edited by Barnes.

the bully to assume a reasonably docile attitude in the schoolroom. It will take time to accomplish this, and there will be frequent backsliding on the part of the offender, for his original attitudes of resistance and domineering will not easily be overcome. The wise teacher will not be discouraged in his task of breaking in the untrained colt, nor will he let his anger get the better of him, for he will realize that the offender is really not at fault. No one, boy or man, can in an instant will his past out of his desires and impulses, nor can he will all at once a wholly new attitude or quality into his feelings and expressions.

Fortunately, the teacher has an opportunity deeply to impress the child when he first enters school, for he is then in a more or less plastic condition in respect to his attitude toward the new order. Even if he has been a bully in his home, he may usually be made, without the use of harsh means, to feel the importance and the dignity of the order and rules of the school, and this appreciation will lead easily to the attitude of docility. One may often see boys who dominate over every one in their homes, but who are as humble and respectful in the school as one could wish. However, *the right start* must be made. From the very beginning pupils must be *impressed* with everything pertaining to the school. If an attitude of indifference or disrespect be acquired at the outset, it will be difficult, if at all possible, to establish a different attitude later.

Control by "natural consequences"

It is probably within the bounds of fact to say that men have always felt that force and coercion applied in some manner is necessary in order to insure the development of right social attitudes in the young. Persistent nonconformists must have serious, or even painful, experiences occasionally, which will impress upon them the difference between right and wrong, and the necessity of choosing the former. But how are these experiences to be gained? As we have seen, this is the question which has troubled educationists since Plato's day. The

plan indorsed by Locke, Rousseau, Spencer, and others is most nearly in accord with contemporary feeling, — that a child must be made to realize clearly that social conduct will increase his happiness, while ill-will toward his fellows, selfishness, and disobedience will diminish his pleasures and augment his pains. Out of this conception has grown the doctrine of the discipline of "natural consequences." Arbitrary punishment often fails of its end, it is said, because the offender does not look upon his penalties as the inevitable result of his misdeeds. When a child strikes his finger with a hammer he is not in doubt regarding the relation of cause and effect in this instance, and consequently he is on his guard to prevent a repetition of the event. But when he plays truant and is some time later whipped for it, he may think that his punishment is due to the ill temper and the injustice of his teacher, or that it is an accidental affair, and would not have occurred with another teacher or under other conditions. So he will try it again when the situation is altered; the punishment seeming to him capricious, he will take chances with it when the conditions change. And, too, when the boy is always whipped for certain kinds of wrong-doing, he is apt to reach the conclusion that everything for which he is not whipped is permissible; and so he gains little if any appreciation of the corrective forces that alone are effective in mature life. If as a man he is selfish and people treat him accordingly, though he be not whipped, he will be likely to think himself abused. He cannot connect causes and effects in much of his conduct, because during his plastic years he was not practiced in this subtle art. He is quite incapable of detecting the very intricate ways in which his deeds return upon him, and so experience teaches him little which can be of service to him in mending his errors. He does not ascribe his social misfortunes to his own shortcomings; instead he thinks something is wrong with the world. It is too late for him when he reaches maturity to acquire the habit of tracing natural

consequences in behavior; rather he will be inclined to spend his time complaining at the injustice of men if they oppose his undertakings.

Rousseau would permit no direct expression of repressive, coercive, or punitive authority in the training of the child. The latter should stand in awe or in fear of nothing but the inevitable consequences of his actions. No one should ever command or forbid him; let him learn what is right through experience, which, as Rousseau thought of it, excludes the indignation even of his elders. The kindergarten has apparently indorsed this principle, and has given it standing among many people. Every child, say some of the interpreters of Froebel, possesses a spark of divinity, and no adult has the right to quench it by the exercise of autocratic authority.

Some defects in the plan

But those who think in the spirit of modern thought doubt the possibility or the wisdom of letting the child attempt to learn the *whole* of the social law without authority to coerce him at times. If the principle of control by natural consequences, as Rousseau and Spencer [1] expound it, were the only one followed in the training of the young child, he would surely be destroyed

[1] The following statement from Spencer indicates his view of the exercise of authority over the child. "The power of self-government," he says, "like all other powers, can be developed only by exercise. Whoso is to rule his passions in maturity, must be practiced in ruling over his passions during youth. Observe, then, the absurdity of the coercive system. Instead of habituating a boy to be a law to himself as he is required in after life to be, it administers the law for him. Instead of preparing him against the day when he shall leave the paternal roof, by inducing him to fix the boundaries of his actions and voluntarily confine himself within them, it marks out these boundaries for him, and says, 'cross them at your peril.' Here we have a being who, in a few years, is to become his own master, and, by way of fitting him for such a condition, he is allowed to be his own master as little as possible. Whilst in every other particular it is thought desirable that what the man will have to do, the child should be well drilled in doing, in this most important of all particulars — the controlling of himself — it is thought that the less practice he has the better. No wonder that those who have been brought up under the severest discipline should so frequently turn out the wildest of the wild. Such a result is just what might have been looked for." — *Social Statics*, pp. 206, 207.

before he could reach the point where he could recognize causes and effects in conduct, and govern himself accordingly. Rousseau and his disciples have apparently failed to take due account in their theories of the fact that a principle of social training which may be serviceable in the education of a child of eleven may be, and is likely to be, utterly useless if not vicious when applied to the infant in arms. The child of maturer years has gained some insight into the connections between actions and their outcome upon his welfare; that is, he can trace the connections between what he does and what happens to him "naturally" as a result thereof. But it is altogether different with the infant; his vision for matters of this sort extends only an arm's length; he cannot see the relation between misdeeds and their "natural" consequences except in the simple and more obvious instances. He can doubtless make some sort of connection between his destroying his mother's china, for instance, and the dermal stimulation administered by her immediately thereafter; but if some time later his mother refuses to give him food because he has broken his dishes, his piece-meal mind will not be apt to trace the desired relation between the previous wrong act and the present unhappy consequence. He will be more apt to think that his mother is mean or freaky.

After all, correction of wrong action by the parent or the teacher or the policeman is "natural" punishment, for the representatives of law and order have to be reckoned with when we are considering the consequences of deeds. It is surely "natural" for a mother to be indignant when her china is heedlessly or purposely broken, and to take steps to prevent anything of the sort occurring again. Of course, there is danger that the parent will not administer the moral law as uniformly or wisely as nature does the physical law, but this does not affect the principle. The sorrow, or indignation, or even punitive reac-

The responses to the child's advances of the representatives of law and order are properly "natural consequences"

tion of one in authority, occasioned by the misdeed of a child, is a sign to the latter that he must change his course, or at least be more circumspect in his conduct. In his early years he does not raise the question of justice or arbitrariness when he is corrected for his errors; he simply concludes therefrom how he should carry himself in the future, just as when he burns his finger on the stove he decides "naturally" to avoid the source of his trouble on all occasions. This in principle is all he cares for or is capable of appreciating during his first few years. What can I do with safety? is the question ever on his lips; and whatever brings no serious pain of any kind, so far as can be discerned, is allowable, while all else must be guarded against, or abandoned completely.

Viewed from the evolutionary standpoint, the parent and teacher were conserved to *direct* the child in his immaturity and helplessness. They are simply wisdom stored up for him, and put at his disposal, while he is gaining wisdom for himself; and the child should properly regard them in just this light.[1] It is as though in obeying them he abides by the verdict of his own experience, when it commands him to do this deed and not to do that one. The right relation between trainer and pupil will develop this attitude of confidence and obedience on the part of the latter. This relation, though,

[1] It is possible that some of us are carrying the theory of self-activity too far in these days. Those in authority ought not to be continually asking young children whether they want to do this or that or the other thing. Infants ought not to be required to make their own judgments in reference to many of the things in daily life. The teacher or parent ought to go ahead on the assumption that certain things should be done, and there is no need of asking questions about them. The governor should study the temperament of the child in order to ascertain his likes and dislikes, and these should be respected. If a child does not like bread, for example, the adult ought not to force bread upon him; nor ought he to ask at every meal, "Will you have bread?" This gives the child too much importance. It places government in his hands before he is ready to govern. At his stage of development it is easier and more natural for him to have things determined for him in some part. There need be no arbitrary authority in this. It is not necessary for the adult to say, "You must do this or that or the other thing." There is a median course which the wise trainer will pursue.

will continue only during the early years. It is but a makeshift; for in due course the discipline of natural consequences will become operative, and then the function of the guardian will be simply to help the child to see straight in his social relations, so that he may connect together causes and effects that are quite remote from one another in time, and that do not seem to be causally related.

Résumé

Corporal punishment, once the chief means of correction, is being superseded by other modes of control, though there are still distinguished educators who believe in the value of the rod, at least on occasions. In Germany, the aim in the training of the young is to secure obedience and respect for authority, and corporal punishment is freely used. In England, self-control and self-discipline in childhood and youth are being relied on more and more, and the use of force in discipline is declining, though it has not entirely disappeared yet. In France, corporal punishment is absolutely prohibited in the public schools.

The German schools repress initiative and spontaneity almost wholly. But they do not develop a high type of self-control. On the other hand, the French method fails to secure effective work from children, such as one sees in Germany. The youth of France seem to be as well controlled, however, and as serious and earnest as the German youth. It is probable that the rod does not play a really vital rôle in developing self-control in maturity.

The child is undoubtedly happiest when he learns early that he must yield without protest to the guidance of those wiser than himself. Not until the individual has the experience and has developed the inhibitions of the adult can he be intrusted with adult freedom.

Obstinacy and insubordination may require the application of force as a corrective; although on this point men differ greatly in their views. Plato would use the rod rather freely, it seems; Quintilian would never strike a child; Locke would employ it to cure obstinacy, but not otherwise; Rousseau has no confidence whatever in any form of physical force as a means of control; Froebel would substitute love, sympathy, gentleness for the rod; and Spencer regards corporal punishment as arbitrary and ineffective. In our country we are tending away from the use of the rod in the home and in the school.

Methods of correction and coercion must be varied to suit individual peculiarities. One child may be injured permanently by corporal punishment, while another may receive marked benefit from it when it is administered with fairness, and for plain wrong-doing. On entering school the child is usually in a receptive mood, and the teacher can by appropriate methods make a deep impression upon him, and lead

him to assume a docile attitude toward authority. But the impression must be made *in the beginning.*

Arbitrary punishment generally fails of attaining its end. Moreover, it does not lead the child to acquire the habit of tracing "natural consequences" in his conduct. While the child trained in accordance with the doctrine of natural consequences will become skillful in tracing the relation of cause and effect in his actions, nevertheless the method is of value only to a limited extent with young children, before they can appreciate actions and their "natural" effects, and conduct themselves appropriately.

The young child does not ordinarily raise the question of justice or arbitrariness in his corrections ; but from the outcome of his action in the present he learns how to conduct himself in the future. From the evolutionary standpoint the parent and the teacher have been conserved to direct the child during his immaturity and helplessness, and their attitudes toward his conduct must be reckoned among the "natural consequences" of his behavior.

CHAPTER XVI

SUGGESTION

THE reader who has gone through the preceding two chapters has doubtless remarked the importance which has been given to resistant, coercive, and punitive measures — to Spartan training — in the early stages of social education. He may have felt that compulsion was assigned too prominent a place in those chapters; but if so, he cannot have failed to see the reasons why force has been thought to be essential at times. The child comes among us equipped with impulses, many of which alienate him from his present social environment; and it is the business of training, when imperative, to compel him, for the welfare of himself as well as of others, to restrain these tendencies, and to choose modes of conduct in harmony with contemporary customs and institutions. But granting the necessity of the child's being led to adjust himself in congruent relations with the existing social order, can this be accomplished in the majority of cases in some more agreeable and successful way than by the employment of concrete rewards and pains and penalties? In considering the question, we must first glance at an important principle of modern psychology, — the principle of suggestion, — the tendency of an individual to act in conformity with or in opposition to ideas abruptly thrust into consciousness from without, or in certain cases from within. In another connection [1] the author has shown that, in the view of contemporary psychologists, conscious processes always have motor accompaniments. Some present-day scientists go so far as to say that ideas are really part motor; or what amounts to the same thing, that every idea has a motor aspect. Whether

The general character of suggestion

[1] In *Dynamic Factors in Education*, chaps. i–iii.

this view in all its implications can be successfully defended is not appropriate for us to discuss here; but it is important to appreciate the fact, for fact it seems to be, that in childhood an idea, using the term in the popular sense, tends to find ready expression in correlated motor actions, no matter how the idea gains entrance to consciousness.[1] The young child is a sort of reflex of the stimulations that play upon him from the environment in which he is placed at any time. There is little if any unity in his conduct, except when his environment is uniform, so that he does not receive suggestions which induce a variety of disconnected activities. The adult can, in a measure at any rate, ignore stimulations from his environment which are not congruous with a dominating purpose, or in harmony with the trend of his action at any moment; but it is otherwise with the child, who has not established well-integrated series of ideas and actions which will prevent him from responding to chance suggestions that may come to him without order or method. This opportunity may be taken to observe that in a sense character, as we ordinarily use the term, means the sum of these habitual sequences in ideas and actions which make an individual's conduct, whatever it may be, uniform and consistent; qualities which the child's behavior lacks in large measure, except as his instinctive tendencies are for a period uniform and consistent.

The natural history of an act of suggestion

Let us here glance at the natural history, as it were, of a typical act of suggestion in childhood. In the first place, the child consciously or deliberately makes an adjustment to a situation, — a person, a word,

[1] Compare the following: "It is a familiar principle that attention to the thought of a movement tends to start that very movement. I defy any of my readers to think hard and long of winking the left eye, and not have an almost irresistible impulse to wink that eye. There is no better way to make it difficult for a child to sit still than to tell him to sit still; for your words fill up his attention, as I have occasion to say above, with the thought of the movements, and these thoughts bring on the movements, despite the best intentions of the child in the way of obedience." — Baldwin, *The Story of the Mind*, p. 180.

a dog, a hot stove, or what not. If this adjustment, whether it be of a positive or of a negative character, proves of some advantage to the individual, in his own estimation, he will tend to repeat it whenever he is placed in the particular situation in which it originated. Gradually upon repetition the adjustment will be made subconsciously, and it will tend always so to occur on the proper stimulus being presented, unless there becomes associated with it a stimulus or suggestion which operates to restrain it,[1] by inciting an act contrary to it, or by withdrawing the attention from it on to some different action. To give a simple illustration: V. is reading by my side. Without addressing him directly, I say, "I think I will go out on the lawn and play ball for a while." Instantly he drops his book, and finds his way without hesitation to bat and balls, and then to the lawn. The entire proceeding seems to be almost, if not quite, automatic with him. The words "lawn" and "play ball" serve mainly to release the motor processes which have become connected through past function with this particular stimulus. This very simple instance is typical of what is occurring constantly in the life of the average child, and to some extent in the life of the adult. The following incident illustrates the principle, though in a rather extreme form: —

E. W. Sabel, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, tells an anecdote of Frederick Villiers, the famous war correspondent. Villiers had been under fire for some days, the enemy bombarding the force to which the artist was attached, so that the arrival of a shell was a commonplace circumstance, to be treated in the usual way. Out of this ordeal he came unscathed to London, and was strolling down the crowded Strand.

On a sudden the pedestrians were appalled to see him fling him-

[1] Compare the following: Here, as elsewhere, the conscious energy of past function becomes the unconscious mechanism of present function, which thereupon is able to work without attention and almost without exertion; will loses its character, so to speak, in attaining to its unconscious perfection; and meanwhile the free, unattached path-seeking consciousness and will, that are, as it were, the pioneers and perfecters of progress, are available to initiate new and to perfect old functions. — Maudsley, *Body and Will*, p. 93.

self at full length upon the greasy, muddy pavement, and there lie on his face rigid as a dead man. From all directions men rushed to render him assistance. They turned him over to rub his hands and unbutton his collar, expecting to find him in a fit. But no. On his face they found not the pain and pallor of epilepsy, but astonishment and mud. Villiers, when they laid hold of him, quickly jumped to his feet, shook the mud from his hands and clothes, and then looked round for an explanation of his own apparently idiotic act. The explanation was forthcoming.

A few yards behind him stood a horse and cart. The carter had a moment after Villiers passed pulled the pin and allowed the cart-box to dump upon the ground a load of gravel. The heavy beams of the cart, of course, struck the wood paving with a resounding "dull thud," and the clean gravel hissed out with an evil roar. This combination of sounds, the war artist declared, was identical with the striking of a live shell, and Villiers, forgetting that he then stood some thousands of miles from the seat of war, flung himself down to wait the dreadful explosion.[1]

The principle of suggestion stated

Without attempting to discuss the psychology of suggestion in all its phases, we may here say simply that the principle which is of chief importance to us at this point may be stated thus: any percept or image of an act, which becomes focal in the child's consciousness, tends automatically to produce the act if he has previously performed it or anything resembling it closely. It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to add the qualification, "which becomes focal," for a percept or image of an act cannot become focal in attention until it has been executed, at least spontaneously.[2] So whatever is attended to that relates to action is likely to induce, or rather, *suggest* that action. If, then, one should wish a child to crow in imitation of a rooster, say, the proper way to proceed would be to turn his attention strongly on to this act, by the use either of words, of pictures, or of concrete examples. If this should be a wholly new act to the child,

[1] Thorndike, *The Human Nature Club*, p. 199.

[2] See the author's *Dynamic Factors in Education*, chap. vi, where the principle touched upon here is developed in detail.

he could not gain either a percept or an image of it by hearing words describing it or even by looking at a picture of a crowing rooster. But he could probably gain a more or less adequate and efficient percept by looking at or hearing some one else perform the act. If there should be onlookers, his attention might be distracted, so that the percept could not become focal. If the child had been forbidden to perform this act, or punished or laughed at for doing it, the revival of these experiences would tend to restrain him now, since they would prevent the act in question from becoming freely and clearly focal in consciousness. Besides, the inception of this act would tend to arouse the associated acts produced by ridicule and whipping or admonition, and the individual would at least stand a chance of acting in the direction of these latter suggestions, which in effect inhibit the first ones. If the circumstances of the moment tended to weaken the perception of the act in question, and strengthen some experience already registered in consciousness, the latter and not the former would be likely to determine the individual's conduct. We here catch a glimpse, but only a glimpse, of the complexity of the problem of suggestion; it is as complex as consciousness itself. In a way, consciousness is simply the sum of the suggestions to actions which an individual has accumulated since birth; and while the tendency of all these is, under appropriate conditions, to find realization in associated action, it is manifestly impossible for this to happen in every case, since some of them are certain to antagonize and often to neutralize one another.

It would, of course, require several volumes to describe exactly the psychological conditions under which particular suggestions will issue in action, or be checked in their dynamogenic tendencies; how a suggestion will take effect with an individual at one time and not at another; why a suggestion made to a group of children will be carried out by some and not by others, and so on. But as our present

purpose is a practical one purely, we may proceed without further analysis to lay down some rules for the use of suggestion as it is involved in the simpler phases at least of social education.

To begin with, personality is the most potent factor in suggestion affecting social conduct, especially during the period of childhood. Every expression of features, quality of voice, bodily attitude, and the like, in the teacher, the parent, the governess, or the playmate, constitutes a more or less powerful suggestion to the child, and tends to determine his action in accordance therewith. This is less marked in youth, and still less in maturity, than it is in the earliest years, when the individual is relatively very plastic; but it holds true to some extent in every age. In his "Essay on the Alchemy of Influence," Drummond expresses the principle, with a measure of poetic license, when he says: —

The influence for good or ill of the personality of the trainer

> No man can meet another on the street without making some mark upon him. We say we exchange words when we meet; what we exchange is souls. And when intercourse is close and very frequent, so complete is this exchange that recognizable bits of one soul begin to show in the other's nature, and the second is conscious of a familiar and growing debt to the first.
>
> It is the Law of Influence that we become like those whom we habitually admire. Through all the range of literature, of history, of biography, this law presides. Men are all mosaics of other men. There is a savor of David about Jonathan, and a savor of Jonathan about David. Jean Valjean, in the masterpiece of Victor Hugo, is Bishop Bienvenu risen from the dead. Metempsychosis is a fact. George Eliot's message to the world was that men and women make men and women. The Family, the cradle of mankind, has no meaning apart from this. Society itself is nothing but a rallying point for these omnipotent forces to do their work. On the doctrine of influence, in short, the whole vast pyramid of humanity is built.[1]

[1] The following from Holmes seems in the main true to human nature: "A certain involuntary adjustment assimilates us, you may also observe, to that upon which we look. Roses redden the cheeks of her who stoops to

The practical word to be spoken here is, that if we could place our children in schools or homes where social conduct would be constantly under their observation; where fair play, sympathy, good-will, good cheer, and coöperation would be positive, dynamic, and never wavering, they would go far by themselves in adopting these as their own rule of life. Give us for our children well-mannered, generous, honest companions, and thoroughly socialized parents and teachers, say present-day students of human development, and we will not pay great heed to what they are taught in a formal way in text-books, or whether they are so taught at all. "It has appeared to me," says one of the observers of human nature,[1] "that some of the most nutritive and effective functions of an instructor are really performed while he seems least to be instructing." It sounds rather commonplace to say that a trainer who is himself weak in his social relation cannot make children efficient in these relations, no matter what formal methods of instruction in morals or ethics or other subjects he employs, or how much theory of teaching he has mastered. Our chief concern, then, in social education should be to keep the child in association with people who in their own demeanor express dynamically the attitudes we wish to develop in him. The boy will be no better than his hero, but he will endeavor to

gather them, and buttercups turn little people's chins yellow. When we look at a vast landscape, our chests expand as if we would enlarge to fill it. When we examine a minute object, we naturally contract, not only our foreheads, but all our dimensions. If I see two men wrestling, I wrestle too, with my limbs and features. When a country-fellow comes upon the stage, you will see twenty faces in the boxes putting on the bumpkin expression. There is no need of multiplying instances to reach this generalization: every person and thing we look upon puts its special mark upon us. If this is repeated often enough, we get a permanent resemblance to it, or, at least, a fixed aspect, which we took from it. Husband and wife come to look alike at last, as has often been noticed. It is a common saying of a jockey, that he is 'all horse'; and I have often fancied that milkmen get a stiff, upright carriage, and an angular movement of the arm, that remind one of a pump and the working of its handle." — *The Professor at the Breakfast Table*, p. 196.

[1] Huntington, *Unconscious Tuition*, p. 5.

be just as good in all that he regards as essential. It is a simple matter of every-day experience that often, when one is placed in an important social situation to which automatic adjustment has not been acquired, his action is shaped by the conception he has of how his model would conduct himself under similar circumstances. That is to say, one's model really determines in large part his social appreciation, his conscience, and his will; and this is why it is imperative that we should have in the schoolroom socially strong, efficient men and women, who have a delicate and sane sense of what is right and best in the varied situations of daily living, and who have organized their perceptions into vigorous conduct.

The suggestion of evil

Plato would not permit children to listen to stories which exhibit evil deeds, on the theory that what is seen or heard will sooner or later find realization in corresponding action. So he denounced the drama as it existed in his day, since it presented examples of lewdness, dishonesty, and the like, even though it pretended to show that these moral deformities were in the end punished as they deserved to be. Only what is morally and æsthetically pure and wholesome should be exhibited before the young, for, as he says in the *Republic* [1] in discussing the general principle in question, — "we would not have our guardians grow up amid images of moral deformity, as in some noxious pasture, and there browse and feed upon many a baneful herb and flower day by day, little by little, until they silently gather a festering mass of corruption in their own soul. Let our artists rather be those who are gifted to discern the true nature of beauty and grace; then will our youth dwell in the land of health, amid fair sights and sounds; and beauty, the effluence of fair works, will visit the eye and ear, like a healthful breeze from a purer region, and insensibly draw the soul even in childhood into harmony with the beauty of reason."

[1] Book II.

Aristotle presents a quite different view, in respect to the function of the drama at least; for he maintains that if one sees a crime dramatized on the stage it will purge his own soul of a similar deed, if the impulse to commit such an one should be lurking therein. On the other hand, Aristotle agrees with Plato in his contention that we should banish all evil pictures and stories from the schoolroom and the nursery, for they will suggest the very evils they describe. John Locke viewed human nature on the practical side differently from either Plato or Aristotle. If my boy must live in the world among men, he says, in substance, I wish him to be shown everything therein. Whatever faults and vices of men will fall in his way when he is a man, he should learn the aspect of when he is young. In this manner instruction should build up a fence against the world in childhood, and prevent it from breaking in upon the young man's character. If the youth has been shown what the major forms of evil are and in what guises they present themselves, he will be on his guard against them. Designing men and women cannot then take advantage of his innocence, for he will be familiar with their insidious schemes, and will understand to what doom they would lead him. And having a just conception of the quality and effects of vice, he will shun it as he would some savage monster or dread disease.

As one goes through the literature of education, he finds many distinguished students of human nature supporting Plato's view, and others equally eminent standing with Locke. Again, there are those, like Bacon, who hold that knowledge is always the essential requisite for physical or moral well-being; on the one side, the positive, it teaches us what can and should be done; while on the other, the negative side, it shows us what we ought to avoid. And human nature is so constructed that if wrong-doing is but once understood it will be abandoned. People go astray because they cannot discriminate clearly between what is

virtuous and what is vicious. But many teachers of morals give us a quite different view of man's tendencies. They maintain with the poet that evil may at first sight be hated, yet if often seen it will soon be endured without distress, and it will ultimately be embraced. Some go further and say that man is naturally inclined toward the bad, and to introduce the child to it is but to take the first step in leading him to espouse it.

The view of modern psychology

Modern psychology gives us the view that the effect upon the child's conduct of experience with evil, whether in concrete life or in literature or in the drama, depends upon the attitude which he assumes toward the general situation in which it is presented. If he lends himself to it; if he approves of it; if he finds it fascinating, then damage will be done, for he will absorb it, and it will work its way into his springs of conduct. But if he reacts against it; if he can be made to hate it; then he will be the stronger for his contact with it. In every experience one has with vice, if his feelings are aroused in hostility to it and he comes off victor, he will be the better man thereafter. Moral strength is developed, to a considerable degree at least, by facing sin squarely and fighting it successfully. So with fear and dishonesty and every other attitude of the kind. *But it is absolutely necessary that the encounter end right. The evil must be resisted, condemned; courage must overcome fear; the temptation to lie must be made to arouse the impulse toward truth-telling.*

Here is seen the real criterion of the value of any experience in the development of character. If it affords opportunity for the exercise of virtue, whether positively or only in the way of combating evil, it will in any event develop moral strength, which is in large part resistance to evil suggestion. But when sin is in a subtle manner made more inviting than goodness, then nothing but disaster can result. It should be added that it seems much easier for

one to slip backward than to move forward in social conduct; which means that many forms of social error are more attractive and compelling than the antithetic virtues. The path of vice is frequently the way of least resistance, because we have come up this way, and the route is open behind us. But the road ahead is more or less untrodden, and we need every encouragement to try it. The danger of exhibiting sin, even to condemn it, is that it will attract the child's attention, and awaken his interest; and when this happens the chances are that he will wish to experiment with it. We must count upon it as certain that many concrete evils call to the youth in enchanting tones if he comes into their presence, and it may be wisest on the whole to fill his ears with other voices.

The treatment of timidity, as a typical undesirable attitude

To illustrate the principles which have been mentioned, we may here examine in a little detail the treatment of fear in childhood. Plato would not permit children to read literature which depicted frightful scenes of any sort, for he maintains that these will strengthen their natural tendency toward unreasonable fear. Locke and Rousseau strictly prohibit stories which may frighten a child; everything of the nature of a ghost story, or tales of ogres, goblins, and even giants should be banished from the nursery. Spencer, too, complains of the ignorance of parents and nurses who make their children timid with stories of the evil deeds of terrible creatures. This general view is, perhaps, coming to be taken by the majority of parents and teachers in our own day. In many of the story-books for children now pouring from the press, tales like Little Red Riding-hood have a happy conclusion; the wolf is not allowed to "eat up" the little girl. Bluebeard is likely to be banished altogether from juvenile literature, and so is Jack the Giant-killer, and all stories of this nature. We are apparently striving to keep our children's minds free from scenes of killing and devouring, and carrying off into horrid caves or dens.

The logic of the situation seems very simple to many persons. They declare that when the child is told frightful tales, he is himself made afraid of the monsters which he cannot see, but which he believes exist somewhere in his environment. In time he comes to feel that there is something in the air, or in the darkness, or in a strange part of the city, or in the woods, which is seeking to do him harm. But people who hold these views have overlooked one of the most profound principles of human nature already referred to, namely, that what determines whether one will be helped or injured by any experience is the sort of reaction which he makes thereupon. A child may be placed in a situation which from one point of view is frightful; but if he conducts himself in a courageous way, he will be all the braver for the experience. The courageous reaction will develop courage as a habit in him. It will give him a sense of power which he could never acquire without such experience. If the situation be one of imaginary harm, as told in the stories, and he responds in a fearless way and demonstrates that it is but imaginary, — a thing of the air, — he will in some measure purge his feelings of the more or less obscure fears that reside therein as a bequest from heredity. In proving that a thing is groundless, that it is false, he gets a sense of the truth more vividly, more effectively, than if he had never had to deal with fiction. Human nature is so constructed that there is needed this tension and struggle to develop power, — to build strong character, that is to say.

This principle is as freely illustrated in the lives of children as of adults. Nature has taught persons of every age who dread certain objects or forces in their environment to summon those things before them and to prove to themselves the futility of being afraid. Listen to children assuring themselves and others over and over again that they are not afraid of this, that, or the other thing. An adult, if he will take note of the matter, will find himself often

struggling in imagination with situations which later he must struggle with in reality. And what is he accomplishing in this struggle? He is arousing and strengthening all within him that will give him force and nerve, and thereby he is rendered more aggressive and courageous than he would be without experience of this sort. And so it may be that we are going too far in eliminating from children's literature all stories which test their credulity and their courage. Most of these stories have come down to us from the time when men mistrusted and feared the forces of nature. Life was more precarious in early times than it is to-day; but man has retained reminiscences of the ancient order, and his fancy is filled with very general, indefinite creatures that are bent on doing mischief. In his stories he gives force and figure to these evil beings, and he emboldens himself for conflict with them by reciting his methods of overcoming or outwitting them. So when we tell our children these stories, which the natural trend of their young minds enables them to respond to so readily, it may be that if we can get them to react strongly and positively in a courageous way, we will really contribute to the development of their valor. The child who has been told that the goblins will get him if he does not watch out, and who can say to himself, "There are no goblins, and they will not get me," though at first he may not say it with great confidence, still, if we can induce in him this attitude in which he becomes master of the situation, we will give him a very valuable experience. We shall leave him much stronger than if he had had no occasion to face danger, and meet it bravely. This is what Aristotle must have meant by "catharsis of the soul." Fear, like any evil humor, may be drained off by meeting the object of it squarely and conquering it.

There is a special phase of the general question before us which is of particular importance in all social education. In the past it apparently was commonly thought that if

one would only keep a "negative idea" before the attention, it would restrain the correlative positive action. But we are hearing on every side to-day that such "negative ideas" are often the means of initiating the acts they are designed to inhibit. When you "think" of not performing an act, as not closing your hand, what are you really thinking about? Try riding a bicycle and getting your attention concentrated negatively, so to speak, on a person or a tree in your path, and note the effect upon your adjustment. Try telling a child, or even an adult, not to look toward the clock or the door, say, and observe the outcome of your command upon his behavior.

Negation as a method of training

If you have never reflected upon this matter, these tests will indicate to you that what you may have been calling a negative idea is really in many instances, so far as its dynamogenic tendency is concerned, not negative at all. It is negative only in a verbal sense. From the standpoint of the content and functioning of consciousness, an idea is made negative when it is forced out of the focus of attention by other ideas that become dominant, at least for the moment. Further, the more one dwells upon the verbally negative form of an idea, the more potent the positive form often becomes. Breese touches upon the principle involved here, when he says: —

> If one attempts to thrust out of consciousness an idea, or an emotion, the attempt serves only to intensify it. The more direct the effort the clearer will the idea become, and the more persistently does it remain. The will is successful in inhibiting mental states only when working through the motor adjustments of the body. If we wish to banish certain thoughts from our mind, we can do so only indirectly by inhibiting the bodily adjustments which accompany such thoughts. A change of bodily activity tends to bring about a change of mental states.[1]

There are very important educational principles that grow out of this fundamental law of human nature. To state a

[1] "On Inhibition," *Psych. Rev.* Monograph Supplement, vol. iii, 1899–1901, p. 16.

great deal in a word: our chief aim must always be to suggest right conduct by precept and by example. In the past men placed their faith in moral training mainly in the direct suppression of evil; but we are now ready, it seems, to declare emphatically that the most effective means of controlling evil is not so much by verbally denouncing it, as by keeping it away from the attention very largely, and putting something worth while in its place. A human being is endowed with a given amount of energy, which is certain to express itself in some direction; and the great problem of education must ever be to direct this energy into the right channels. Moral training really implies the establishment of good rather than the suppression of bad conduct, although if we attain the first end we will attain the latter; but the reverse of this statement is not always true.

Positive suggestion as a method of training

Discussing the principle upon which this point is based, Royce[1] says that, "whenever we can get higher functions of a positive sort established, we thereby train inhibitory tendencies. And, on the whole, this is the wiser course for the teacher of the growing brain to take, where such a course is possible. Inhibition is a constant means, but it is still but a means to an end. The end is the right sort of motor process. You teach a man to control or to restrain himself so soon as you teach him what to do in a positive sense. Healthy activity includes self-restraint, or inhibition, as one of its elements. You in vain teach, then, self-control, unless you teach much more than self-control. The New Testament statement of 'the law and the prophets' substitutes 'Thou shalt love,' etc., for the 'Thou shalt not' of the Ten Commandments. A brain that is devoted to mere inhibition becomes, in very truth, like the brain of a Hindoo ascetic — a mere 'parasite' of the organism, feeding, as it were, upon all the lower inherited or acquired nervous functions of this organism by devoting itself to their hindrance. In persons of morbidly

[1] *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 76.

conscientious life such inhibitory phenomena may easily get an inconvenient, and sometimes do get a dangerous intensity. The result is then a fearful, cowardly, helpless attitude toward life, — an attitude which defeats its own aim and renders the sufferer not, as he intends to be, 'good,' but a positive nuisance."

Present-day tendencies

It seems within bounds to say that we are aiming in modern life to put emphasis chiefly upon positive methods of training, not alone in the school, but in the home, and in the church as well. The reformatory as an educative institution based on the positive principle is rapidly taking the place of the prison as a mere inhibitive or punitive institution. Interesting, vital studies in the school are making less necessary, even though slowly, the employment of the cane and the birch in school government. Playgrounds and wholesome amusement halls are to some extent depopulating the jails in congested communities. Young Men's Christian Associations are reducing the number of men who look to the saloon for their recreation. But there is a vast deal still to be accomplished. Law-makers have not yet realized their full responsibility in this respect, else they would devote more attention than they seem now to do to devising means of enticing young people into social ways, rather than of punishing them when they have sinned. The church has not realized its full responsibility; if it had it would give greater prominence to positive and less to mere negative methods. It would lead people to be more dynamic in doing good, and to be less devoted to the negative attitude of condemning the evil in themselves. "I am a miserable sinner and there is no life in me," indicates an attitude still altogether too prominent in the church. It is strange that people have not appreciated this, as it touches the practical life, since they believe apparently that "out of the heart are the issues of life," and "as a man thinks so is he." In a word, the greatest virtue in a trainer, whether in the school, the home, or the

church, lies in his ability to direct and to guide rather than to repress the young; to transform evil into good; to suggest ways of right action which will turn energy out of wrong channels; to hold up ideals which will be attractive, and which will stimulate children to work them out practically into their own conduct; to present for emulation strong, vigorous personalities which will be positive, and not negative, which will make the child dwell upon what is upright and worthy and wholesome, rather than upon the opposite.

As Guyau puts it:—

> To assert that a child is indifferent to its parents is not the way to make it affectionate; on the contrary, it is much to be feared that assertion of indifference only produces it or at any rate increases it, by persuading the child of its existence. A sentiment must be imputed in far more delicate terms than an act. We may reproach a child for having done or not done this or that; but in my opinion it should be a rule in education *to suggest rather than reproach in matters of sentiment.*[1]

Special problems of village life

In preceding chapters attention has been frequently called to the difficult problems encountered in social training in modern city life, and it may now be appropriate to mention some of the tendencies in village life especially which operate against wholesome, effective education in the home, the school, and the church. In a recent tour of inspection through a number of villages in the middle West, the writer made some observations respecting the opportunities offered for the entertainment and inspiration of the young. One of the features that impressed him most deeply and unhappily in all these communities was the art displayed on the bill-boards and in the shop windows, and the fascination this had for the boys and girls of all ages. One "show" had passed through this region a short time before, and had left behind traces of itself in prominent public places; another was to appear soon, and

[1] *Education and Heredity*, p. 28.

the fact was announced in blatant posters spread everywhere. These in most cases suggested vividly a kind of life in direct contrast with that which we believe we ought to develop in the young. The boys and girls as they came from the schools could be noticed enjoying the crude and rather indecent illustrations. Even the older people could not refrain from giving them their attention, because there was little else in town so striking and enticing.

The bill-board artist knows how to make his pictures stop people of all ages on the street. Unfortunately the teacher and parent and minister seem frequently to lack his skill in arousing the interest and curiosity of youth, or maturity either. These show pictures often make a stronger impression upon young people than does the grammar or cube root or Declaration of Independence taught in the school, or the catechism in the church. The school appeals to interests that are not yet very profoundly established in the race; but it is just the other way with the feelings which the show artist aims to stimulate. This vulgar art determines to a very important extent the thoughts and emotions of a large proportion of the people, especially the young, in many a village throughout our country; and rarely does it portray situations that suggest fine, delicate feeling, such as we strive to awaken and nourish in the schools. An old man slips upon the sidewalk, cracking his skull, and a crowd of ruffians stand around and make merry over the affair. An ungainly woman is tossed by the street car into the air, all her belongings being scattered about her, and every one in the picture who witnesses it regards it as a huge joke. Some rowdies get up on a building and drop water down the backs of passers-by and then hide, and we are led to infer from the expressions of the boys that this is glorious fun. Possibly the most vicious of all the representations depict bibulous scenes. Gay fellows are seen drinking and having a "good" time, and there are always girls who approve of their conduct and urge them on. The artist

knows that this will excite young people,— that it will fascinate some of them, and they will wish to see the real thing. And these pictures always convey the impression that the libertine is a happy fellow, who gratifies his passions, and gets a good deal more out of life than one who has moral scruples and observes them. The minister, as the representative of sobriety and decency, is generally depicted as a cold, formal, unattractive personality.

The effect of such representations upon the ideals and conduct of youth is likely to be especially unfortunate in the village, because the tide of wholesome social action here is commonly not strong enough to carry young people along with it. There is little for them to do that demands self-control and wise husbanding and employment of their energies, and under such conditions they are only too apt to revert to primitive modes of enjoyment. In the larger communities, where the current of positive life moves more swiftly and along many routes, these suggestions cannot make so deep an impression upon youth; there is not time to linger over them; and if a boy does lend himself to them he is soon ordered out of the ranks.

The problem of the village lies in the commonplaceness of the ideals so often set before youth, and the lack of vigorous, wholesome, interesting occupation. It must be acknowledged that the chief concern in many of these places is not the care and culture of the young, but the hoarding of money; and this militates against the uplifting influences of church and school and home. Recently the ministers, principals of schools, and police authorities in one hundred and twenty-five towns in the middle West were requested to furnish information respecting boy-life in their respective communities, and complete returns were received from sixty-five towns. One question asked was, — What proportion of the homes in your community make life attractive for the boys who live in them? What do the unattractive homes lack? The replies which follow are typical of most of those that were received: —

A very small portion of the homes are attractive. Lack of sympathy with the boy in his work or plans, and lack of games or means of amusement. In the better kind of homes the sources of attraction are suitable reading matter, games, and freedom to engage in sports. It is not things but parental attitude that determines the attractiveness of the homes here.

Home influences in the village

So little is done here to make the home attractive that one might say that no home is attractive. They lack music, books, good periodicals, and games. In the few well-kept homes music, books, good periodicals, and games exist, and a place is found for the boys.

Not one half. They lack good reading material, and father and mother are so engrossed with this world's affairs that they entirely forget their duty to the man of to-morrow. Pleasant games, good reading material, pleasant rooms tastefully furnished, are sources of attractions.

Not more than twenty per cent, if that. They lack good literature, books, daily papers, games, and pleasant family conversations. In attractive homes parents are stern but kind. Books, papers, games, pleasant faces, and interest in the boy make the home attractive.

Not over one in ten. Many homes are dark and desolate. Games, attractive books, and magazines are lacking. Sources of attraction are attention from parents and older children, kind words, music, pictures, and games.

About five per cent. They lack those social comforts which are most needful to boys ; music, games, books, and journals. Also that kind of fatherly and motherly companionship which is so necessary to weld children to the home.

These confessions indicate the most serious defects in the life of the typical village. The majority of the homes are desolate ; there is little in them that appeals to the boy, that ministers to his deep-seated instincts, and so he takes to the street. The correspondents mentioned above declare that relatively few of the boys in their respective communities spend their evenings at home. Says one,—

From the great number of boys on the street, loafing in the stores, barber shops, and saloons, I should judge very few spend their evenings at home. Most of those who do are the church and high-school boys who read and study.

Says another : —

The percentage, judging from the numbers on the streets, is very small. A goodly number spend their time in the billiard hall or bowling alley. A large number on the street corners. This town has no place for them at night.

And this is the condition in a majority of the towns from which reports have been received.

As a consequence of lack of interesting employment for the boys of the village, rowdyism is certain to develop. "We have gangs in our town," writes a superintendent of schools, "and their aims are low. There is a marked indifference to all that is good. The bad, immoral boys are the leaders." A minister says that in his town of a thousand souls there is the gang that "smokes cigarettes, annoys citizens, etc. This develops frequently from mischief into vice." And so it goes throughout the list of towns; most of them have these groups of embryo brigands, who are such mainly because there is little else to attract them strongly. The institutions that should train these boys into the ways of civilization have not yet learned that this can be done only by reaching them on the plane of their native interests, and not by ignoring the latter altogether, and adopting a merely formal, negative, prohibitory régime.

Boy-life in the towns of a Western state

Here is the way an editor, who has seen much of the subject of which he treats, writes of boy-life in the towns of a Western state, but what one will be of no interest to the reader: —

The boyhood that characterizes the life of the small towns does not give much hope. These towns are strung along the railroad lines as beads on a string — communities of from two hundred to a thousand people. They differ in tone, but in many of them the railroad station, the barroom, and the livery stable are the chief resorts for the youth, and cheap boastings, silly banter, constant profanity, and indecent stories make up the conversation. New books are appearing each day; great social movements of vital importance are engaging thoughtful men; our new islands of the sea are crowded with interest; the details of our warships would fascinate any boy; the biography of Edison, of Marconi, of Theodore Roosevelt would appeal to him as a fairy tale. The men of the future are wrangling, bragging, and swearing about the speed of some horse that lived or died on the town "bus," or the size of the fish that got away in the mill-pond the year of the Johnstown flood. The city with all its drawbacks is better soil than this, for in the city occasional ideals are forced on the most careless youth. There are multiplied types of the gentleman in the city, of

muscular Christianity, of the best success ; visions of upright, decent living ; manifestations of sound, contagious manhood, that cannot escape the boy. But as one observes the idle loafer around the railroad stations awaiting the evening train or notes their exchange of obscenities in the tavern, the vision seems to be wholly obscured; it seems as if the only captivating ideal of manhood was some blustering loafer, who boasted of his vileness ; as if quiet courage, clean humor, sound, well-controlled, ambitious manhood were types which the dull, sodden mass leave to others to attain.

The opportunity of the school in the village

The remedy for the present condition of affairs in the village must be found in wholesome occupation in line with the natural interests of boys and girls. There must be furnished opportunities for employment that will be upbuilding, and at the same time interesting and attractive. Manual training schools would do for the boy in town what the farm did for his father, and more, — they would engage him in an activity which he would like, and in the prosecution of which he would have to coördinate his powers in the attainment of definite ends. He would be compelled to save his energies for this purpose, and not squander them in riotous living. Greek and algebra and parsing alone will never keep the village boy from drink and things worse ; such a curriculum is liable to drive him out of school on to the street. Everything in the schools ought to have an obvious life relation for the boy who has passed his twelfth birthday. He must feel that in mastering any study he is gaining real power, which he will find of service in the world outside.

The movement which has gained such headway in larger places, looking toward making the school the centre of the life of the community, will do much for the boy in the village. The school will be open for him in the evening, and he may go there for reading and study, and for amusement as well. As it is now, though, the school is sometimes little else but a place for tasks, for drudgery; so that the boy often hates it, and all it stands for. Consequently it exerts little beneficial influence upon his spontaneous con-

duct. When he gains his freedom he wants to get as far away from the school and its ideals as he can. The boy who retains affection for the mere formal type of school is an exception, and he is apt to be ignored by the gang. But once let the new ideal of the school as a social centre, and a place where interesting, dynamic activities flourish, — let this ideal get established in any village, and the attitude of the typical boy toward the school will be completely changed. It will then be a place where he can grow normally, and not simply a prison-house where he must be confined for a time.[1]

The church in the village, too, is often derelict in its plain duty. Sometimes it spends most of its energies in verbalizing, one might say, and it does little if anything to enlist youth in wholesome, interesting social or other kinds of work. The churches ought to assist in providing occupations or amusements that will keep boys out of the saloons and gambling dens. How long must we wait before ministers and others who are trying to save souls will realize that they can achieve success only as they make right *action* possible and attractive? Mere negation, which is so characteristic of village preaching, has the effect often to urge boys on to sin. The saloon seems to understand boy nature better than the church does; or at least it is frequently made more attractive to him, and so it gets a firmer grip upon him.

Practical methods of improvement

This subject should not be left without first noting a few suggestions made by correspondents relative to the practical methods of improving the conditions for boys in the towns. There is one general point

[1] The extraordinary interest manifested in the vacation schools in all the large cities bears out this statement. It has been found impossible to provide sufficient accommodations for the children who voluntarily seek admission to these schools. The secret lies in the curriculnm and methods of teaching, the aim being to make everything concrete and attractive, while at the same time highly educative. It is certainly not impossible to make the work of the regular school appeal very strongly to the young.

which nearly every writer emphasizes, — provide opportunities for wholesome occupation in the home, school, and church, and in properly conducted resorts and clubrooms. Public playgrounds and athletic rooms under right supervision would keep practically all young boys out of saloons. Here are a few suggestions from men who are in the midst of things, and who are students of the problems involved: —

Have parents wake up to the need of knowing their boys and planning for them. Form efficient clubs for them in both the church and the school, — some place for them in both summer and winter that will keep them from the saloon. I aimed at a public library for the boys, but no church here has yet realized that there is a need of a place for boys.

What our small cities need is some attractive place of meeting for the boys who will be away from home at night. Of course, I would lay special stress on the home attractions, as nothing can ever equal or take the place of a well-regulated home. It would pay the small cities in the line of making good citizens, to levy a mill-tax, to be used exclusively in maintaining a clean, well-managed resort for young men, and then close the saloon, if possible. No young man is safe while the saloon, as now run, is the most attractive place of social resort on the public streets of our small towns.

I would distribute good periodical literature in every home for the boys; have a public library and reading-room; debating and literary clubs; abolish the saloon, card-playing, and the cigar store; have athletic, ball, and boat clubs; give the boys a regular holiday each month; have more social gatherings in the home and the church.

First, I would thoroughly Americanize all foreigners. To my mind, a club and a place where good reading, good games, and gymnastic exercises can be carried on is the only thing that will bring about a better condition. There is too little amusement in the home for boys. The present system in the Sunday school must be remodeled, as it is very repulsive to the boy.

United effort on the part of all churches. What to do for the boy is the serious problem of the church. This town has no place to entertain the boys but the saloon. The education is limited, and drinking and carousing, even by boys, frequent. What we want is an attractive resort to keep the boy from the saloon.

I would let the boy dance, play cards and billiards in the home. For those who had not good homes I would introduce these games into a well-regulated clubroom for the boy. In fact, I would allow anything that was not contrary to decency. Do everything possible to keep the boy off the street and away from the saloons.

In suggestion an individual tends to act in conformity with or in opposition to ideas abruptly thrust into consciousness, either from without or from within. To-day students of human nature accept as an hypothesis the proposition that every idea has a motor aspect. The young child's conduct is more or less of a reflex of the stimulations that play upon him from his environment, and that always tend to become realized in action.

Résumé

Whatever an individual has done frequently in a given situation he tends ultimately to do automatically when the appropriate stimulus is received, though in the beginning he may have had to struggle consciously to do it, or to *learn* it. Whenever the attention is concentrated on any act that has been performed, the probabilities are the act will occur again unless it is restrained by inhibiting acts. The psychological conditions under which a given suggestion will take effect in any particular instance are well-nigh infinitely complex.

The personality of the trainer is the most potent influence for good or ill in suggesting modes of conduct to the child. The chief problem in education is to keep the young in contact with socially strong, capable, efficient men and women ; all else is secondary in importance to this.

Throughout the history of education men have differed in their views regarding the wisdom of permitting children to become familiar with evil so as to learn to combat it. Plato best represents the negative side of the question, and Locke the positive side. Modern psychology takes the view that the effect upon the child's conduct of experience with evil depends upon the attitude he assumes toward the situation in which it is presented. If contact with evil arouses hostile attitudes, the child will be the better for his experience ; if it attracts him, he will be injured. Moral strength is developed by meeting evil and successfully combating it. Fear, as a typical disadvantageous emotion, cannot be cured by avoiding altogether the objects that arouse fear, but only by facing them and strongly assuming the courageous attitude.

Negation as a method of training is fundamentally wrong. It often weakens instead of strengthens character ; it suggests evil when such suggestion is harmful. The positive method of strongly suggesting in every way possible wholesome social conduct will alone prove successful in most situations. In modern life we are apparently striving to base our training on the positive method, substituting the reformatory for the prison, etc.

The village, as well as the city, has its problems in social training. In the typical village the suggestions of indecent, vulgar action are often stronger than those of an opposite sort. The tide of wholesome life in the village is commonly not dynamic enough to overcome the suggestions to idleness, vice, and so on. The influence of the typical village home for good is not very prominent, — not nearly as strong as

the saloon, the barber shop, and the livery stable. The school and the church are often not dynamic enough to counteract the evil suggestions dominant in the village. What is needed here is opportunity for wholesome, interesting occupation ; and the school and the church could easily coöperate in furnishing this.

CHAPTER XVII

IMITATION

In any biological group, the markedly exceptional individual in respect to any particular trait generally arouses the antagonism of some or all of the remaining members, unless he be very clearly a leader and is accepted as such. Only birds of a feather can flock together. The odd sheep in the flock is constantly plagued by the rest of the group, and they would eliminate him if they could. The treatment of the ugly duckling is typical in principle of that accorded the peculiar individual in the life of the forest, or elsewhere. In previous chapters we have noted instances showing that this same phenomenon may be seen in human society. Study the life of the playground, and it will be seen that a boy in any way markedly peculiar is apt to become an object of more or less direct and persistent bullying by the crowd. The group will not easily tolerate any considerable departure from general group characteristics, either in respect to physical traits, or to dress, manners, or any attitudes or actions affecting the interests, customs, or practices of the group. If it is the habit of the group in school to tantalize the teacher, any boy who is "good" will not be in favor, and he may suffer for his virtue. In the universities where it is the custom of students to appear to be indifferent to study, any individual who advertises himself as eager and industrious, and who attends his classes with demonstrative faithfulness, will be made the butt of ridicule, and often he will be ostracized. From the earliest times student communities have used physical measures to compel the "queer" or "smart" freshman to adjust himself to the practices of the group; this is the real object of hazing in colleges. As a general prin-

Group homogeneity

ciple — though allowing for exceptions — those individuals in any company who come nearest to conforming to the trend of group characteristics will prosper in every way. Also, only those individuals who have had a disposition to adapt themselves to environmental tendencies have survived in the struggle for existence, and they have transmitted this trait in greater or less degree to their descendants. We might expect that this characteristic would be particularly marked in the human species, since group life is so much more pronounced here than elsewhere. As a matter of fact, we find that people in all times have attached great importance to imitation as an assimilative and harmonizing process in human society. "The child is a born imitator" is a popular saying; and in this chapter we shall inquire what is the significance of this activity for social development.

We may first glance at some of the simplest ways in which this imitative tendency is expressed. To begin with, the young child — say two years of age — and his father are together in a room, each engaged in his own particular occupation, and more or less unconscious of the existence of the other. For purposes of an experiment the father "makes up a face" when the boy happens to be looking his way, and immediately the latter does the same as best he can. He does it before he "thinks what he is doing," though he may afterward be aware of what he has done. The father starts humming an air, and the child is soon humming also. The former goes to answer the telephone, and the latter may begin saying more or less mechanically "hello," "yes," "I think so," "good-by," and he may endeavor to reproduce the peculiar intonations as well as the words of his father.[1] So one might follow the child throughout the whole day, and he would be found to be continually imitating those actions occurring about him that are within his range of interest and ex-

Familiar illustrations of imitative activity

[1] I have discussed in detail the child's imitation of language in my *Linguistic Development and Education*, chaps. ii–v.

ecution at the time. He is especially ready in reproducing bodily attitudes, and vocal and facial expressions.

If we keep an eye on him as he develops, we will find that for a long stretch, until he arrives at the period of adolescence at any rate, he retains this mimetic tendency, which is manifested in reference to all activities he is learning at any particular time. But when he becomes facile in the execution of any act so that he is really master of it, he seems not to be so eager to reproduce it for mere practice. Thus the boy of nine does not repeat what he hears said at the telephone, unless something quite novel occurs, when he will be likely to do as he did so freely when he was a babe. But at this age he repeats golf and football terms and phrases, much as the young child copies the simple words of ordinary speech. Of course, if he should be placed in an environment where the simple words of ordinary speech were strange to him, as when he is taken to a foreign country, he will reproduce them more or less mechanically upon hearing them, as when a babe he reproduced the words and phrases of his native tongue. Whatever he is learning he will be in a specially sensitive condition to practice, to imitate on every occasion. Needless to add, what he has learned he does not need to practice, for he is already adjusted to his environment in this respect. As a general principle, learning proceeds just so long as one is not assimilated to his environment.

Conditions governing the child's imitations

Children from the second year on are adept in imitating the simpler forms of industrial and social activity which they see going on about them, taking the most elementary and concrete activities first, and passing along gradually to those more complex, involved, and "abstract." Children normally reflect in their own activities the simpler occupations and pastimes of the people in their environment. However, a novice will reproduce only what is fundamental in any act copied, and what is closely related to what he has previously done, so that he

usually reflects only the general type of the action he observes, not its differentiated details. On this account he is not critical of the implements or materials he uses, though as he develops he becomes ever more eager to make his own activity like the copy in all details, which compels him to pay heed to his instruments. The student in the art college takes account of all the peculiarities in workmanship of his teacher; but the kindergarten child ignores all these peculiarities, and notes simply the general action of mixing colors, and spreading them on his paper. Any implements will suffice which will enable him to reproduce this general activity. He will choose the same implements if he finds them at hand, but if he fails in this he will put up with anything that will answer for the time being.

The *doing* of an act seems at the outset to engage the attention of the novice more than the results of his action; though with development the situation is reversed. To illustrate: one may observe a child of four, say, washing her doll's clothing. For hours at a time she will apply herself earnestly to this task, which in adult life would be regarded as hard labor. What is the source of her interest in this activity? For the adult clean clothing has an æsthetic value; it ministers directly to his well-being, and this is the reason he does laundry work. But it is certainly different with this child; for her the pleasure is mainly in the action itself. She evidently cares little about the results of her efforts, as the adult does. Being able simply to execute the activity is a sufficient reward, without anything additional. Again, one may observe children making mud pies, when it is apparent that it is not the pie which has value for them; it is the *making of it* that gives delight. Perhaps these activities anticipate the future, and if so they become of great service in adapting the child to his environment. The girl who washes her doll's clothes, while not now effecting anything of immediate value, is yet acquiring skill and habits which will later prove of considerable importance.

Personation in childhood

It is a commonplace fact that a child of four years, say, will "imagine" himself to be some particular individual, or a bear, a dog, a wolf, a horse, or any other creature he has seen or heard described; and he will often carry out his new rôle for hours at a time.[1] Sometimes he will be aggrieved if the people about him do not treat him as his assumed personality requires. In the course of a week the child may assume the personality of his mother, his father, each of his playmates, and numerous animals. At first, of course, he will exhibit only the more simple, direct, striking phases of the people or animals dramatized. The carpenter will be imitated in his manual activities, not in his life as a citizen, which is more complex and obscure. When the father and mother are dramatized, it is not in their subtle relations to society, though they may be copied in respect to impressive con-

[1] The following instance of personation is typical of well-nigh numberless examples given in the literature of child-life: —

"We pretended to be two caterpillars, and we would creep along the ground upon our stomachs and our knees, and hunt for leaves to eat. After having done that for some time we played that we were very, very sleepy, and we would lie down in a corner under the trees and cover our heads with our white aprons — we had become cocoons. We remained in this condition for some time, and so thoroughly did we enter into the rôle of insects in a state of metamorphosis, that any one listening would have heard pass between us, in a tone of the utmost seriousness, conversation of this nature: —

"'Do you think that you will soon be able to fly?'

"'Oh, yes! I'll be flying very soon; I feel them growing in my shoulders now . . . they'll soon unfold.' ('They' naturally referred to wings.)

"Finally we would wake up, stretch ourselves, and, without saying anything, we conveyed by our manner our astonishment at the great transformation in our condition. . . .

"Then suddenly we began to run lightly and very nimbly in our tiny shoes; in our hands we held the corners of our pinafores, which we waved as if they were wings; we ran and ran, and chased each other, and flew about, making sharp and fantastic curves as we went. We hastened from flower to flower and smelled all of them, and we continually imitated the restlessness of giddy moths; we imagined, too, that we were imitating their buzzing when we exclaimed: 'Hou ou ou!' a noise we made by filling the cheeks with air and puffing it out quickly through the half-closed mouth." Loti, *The Story of a Child*, pp. 62, 63.

ventions or formalities. In due course, though, the child becomes chiefly interested in the personation of people in their more genuine social activities. The college student "imagines" himself in the place of his favorite instructor or author or soldier or lawyer, and he endeavors to conduct himself in the spirit of the personality of his model in the complex adjustments of his daily life. The youth is considerably less demonstrative in his personating activity than the child, and he does not so readily assume personalities; and when he does assume them they modify his general intellectual, emotional, and moral attitudes, rather than his outward demeanor. With development, at least after the early years of adolescence are passed, one's motor attitudes seem to become relatively fixed and unmodifiable. Compared with childhood they are much less plastic, so that the individual normally plays new rôles with ever increasing difficulty, unless he makes a special effort to preserve his plasticity, as the playwright does.

There is another aspect of this general activity which is of theoretical and practical interest. The child not only assumes personalities readily, but he also is very active in constructing an imaginary environment of particular persons or animals, and reacting upon it as though it were real. To illustrate: S. at five asks me repeatedly to be a bear, or a dog, or a wolf, or a horse, or what not, and then he conducts himself as he thinks appropriate. When I am a bear, he runs away screaming as if frightened, or he hides in some secure place, or he shoots me with his improvised gun, when he instructs me to fall at his feet as if dead. Often he requests me to be teacher, and at once he puts himself into the attitude of a learner, and carries out the programme of the schoolroom as completely and correctly as he can. When there are no people about to play the parts he wishes, he will make use of the furniture of the room, — the chairs, or the piano, or perhaps his pets or playthings. All this make-believe is, of course, for the sole purpose that he may

act in a variety of adjustive ways. Every attribute that he assumes, or projects into the things around him is made the stimulus for a special sort of response.

Plato on the moral effect of dramatization.

It is suggestive to note that Plato would not allow children to personate animals, or even human beings of an unworthy type, — as rogues, cowards, revelers, or comedians. "The same person," he says in his *Republic*,[1] "will hardly be able to play the serious part of life, and at the same time be an imitator and imitate many other parts as well." Plato's Guardians were advised not to imitate at all; or if they did, they should from youth upward copy only those persons who were temperate, courageous, holy, free, and the like. He would object to the child, who is destined for a high place in the state, imitating a blacksmith in his plays; for if he does he will absorb the characteristics of the blacksmith, and this will degrade him, because any occupation which deals with material things is sordid. The logic of this argument seems sound enough, in a way. From one point of view Plato appears to be in the right when he says that a child who copies the barking of a dog, or the bleating of a sheep, or the crowing of a rooster, will have his growth upward toward the highest human attributes impeded, for one who imitates the outward characteristics of an animal tends to acquire the inner attributes as well.

But this argument is only apparently sound. Current theory respecting the *conscious* and *subconscious* "selves" leads us to the view that the child may play many parts without losing his own identity at any time, or without the self of one character influencing the self of another permanently. Each self preserves its own individuality intact. When the child is a bear, his human, social self has for the moment abdicated the throne of consciousness; but it stands ready to resume its authority at any moment, when the bear-self will be thrust summarily into the background,

[1] *Loc. cit.*

and it will exert no controlling influence over the real self, though the latter may use advantageously some of the adjustments acquired while playing the rôle of the former. But the personality of the bear as such does not and cannot break in upon the child's personality; the two as unitized selves apparently remain perfectly distinct, and only change places on occasion. The real self, however, is always able at will to dislodge the assumed personality so long as sanity is maintained. Often when a child has apparently lost himself fully in the characteristics of the thing he is impersonating, if an adult appears on the scene, or some interesting or distracting event occurs, the human self instantly steps forward, and the make-believe self is completely routed. There is no evidence that it lingers about the focus of consciousness, and dislodges or in any way interferes with the real self in dealing with the serious situations of every-day life. It is this power of make-believe which enables the child to simulate many characters, his own real nature watching, as it were, in "subliminal regions" while others disport themselves in the foreground of consciousness for brief periods.

The child who at this moment may lap up his food like a pig, may the next moment, if the situation calls for it, eat like a human being, and he may show no disposition to revert to the habits of swine when the situations in which he is placed require human activities. The manners of the pig, though simulated, do not break into the solidified body of human manners which the child has come to regard as real, as proper, as natural. When he acts like a pig he knows he is playing a part, and his playing does not make a serious impression upon his conduct as a whole. He is all the time correcting the tendency of his simulations to become real, and thus they do not get a serious hold on him, so that his real personality is obscured. It is possible that under certain circumstances, and with some children, the personations may come dangerously near establishing them-

selves permanently in the seat of authority, and holding in abeyance the real and human characteristics of the individual; but it is probable that such occurrences are extremely rare.

The value of personating activity

What, then, does the child gain from his personating activity? It seems that, for one thing, he increases the amplitude of his powers. Take the voice, for instance; it appears that the child who barks and crows and bellows and roars, develops a breadth and fullness of voice that would be impossible for a child who should always speak in modulated tones as his father and mother do. If it be asked of what use is this breadth and fullness of vocal powers, since the child will not need to roar and bellow in mature life, it may be answered that nature takes precautions to provide for all possible emergencies. In human life there may be opportunities for a person to influence his fellows through a voice of great power, as in oratory or song. Again, the child's practice in roaring like a lion, for example, may tend to strengthen the emotional attitudes of which the roar is ordinarily an expression — attitudes of fearlessness, of daring. Then one cannot help but feel that the child who has assumed many personalities has disciplined his powers in a large way, made them more supple and responsive, so that they will express his own proper personality more completely in the varied situations in which he may be placed in daily life.

The principle is, of course, of particular importance as it concerns the child's personation of human beings. Every personality he assumes stretches his own in one direction or another, enriches it perhaps, or at least broadens it. Through personation one gets the point of view of others; he discovers how it feels in a broad sense to do as they do, and in this manner he gains understanding of his fellows, and is put in a way to sympathize with them. Again, when the child creates an environment, and then reacts upon it, he is really pre-adjusting himself to that environ-

ment. He is in a vital sense practicing for the serious life ahead.

The importance of this principle has been impressed upon the writer as a result of some observations extending over a number of years which he has been able to make upon two children. One of these two is constantly personating the people and things about her. She cannot come into contact with an individual without "acting out" much of what she sees and hears, — the language used, the peculiar vocal intonations, the expressions of the face, and the general attitudes, intellectual and emotional, as well as motor. She is very active in constructing "imaginary" environments of one sort or another, and she reacts appropriately, as far as she can, to each. In this manner she appears already to have developed a wide range of adaptability to varied situations, though it is not intended to imply that her adjustments have been attained solely through her personating activity. Another child in the same house rarely personates anyone or anything. Her range of activity is thus quite limited; she spends her time to a large extent sucking her thumb, or doing something equally simple and concentric. In consequence of this as an important factor, her development has been much slower than that of her sister. Of course, if she had been born with the same equipment of energy and dynamic tendency as her sister, she would doubtless have developed more rapidly than she has done, even if she did not personate extensively. Nevertheless, dramatic activity furnishes one of the most educative ways in which to expend energy. It is significant that feeble-minded children do not imitate in any complex way, though they may mimic simple expressions of features or of body; and doubtless this is one reason, though not the only one, why they progress so much more tardily than the normal individual.

Happily we are beginning to recognize in the work of the school the fundamental principle in question here. Already

the classic myths, fables, fairy stories, and folk tales are dramatized by young children in some schools. And how interested, and even enthusiastic, pupils do become when they get started in this delightful business, so that they are not too stiff and self-conscious! And how thoroughly they learn the classic tales when they dramatize them, and the gods and goddesses that are referred to so frequently in much of our best literature! When a boy endeavors to impersonate Zeus, say, he gains a knowledge of the peculiar qualities of this mythical personage which he could not acquire so effectively in any other way. And the teacher does not need to keep urging the boy to "learn his lesson." His spontaneous interest will be all the incentive he will need to try in every way to find out the characteristics of his model, and to represent him so that he might be recognized by his friends.

Dramatizing work in the school

The writer recently followed a group of children from six to ten or eleven years of age through a series of dramatizations of the more familiar Greek myths. The work was wholly voluntary; and it was not necessary to apply any pressure from without in order to secure the attendance and hearty coöperation of the children. They were given a large measure of freedom in deciding how the various deities should be portrayed; and they had to get their cues from their reading of myth literature. Now, there was no complaining among those children respecting their reading tasks. They attacked the Greek myths with a vim, which, if the like of it could be secured for all their regular school work, would enable them to do in four years, perhaps, what now takes them eight to accomplish. They were devoted to the work, and fervent in its performance, too, which was a sufficient gain in itself for all the trouble it cost the instructors and the parents. In a few months they acquired a knowledge of a number of the Greek gods and goddesses, which was more extensive and more faithful to the subjects than the typical college student possesses who

has simply studied big text-books on the subject. They had more than a mere *verbal* knowledge of mythology; they knew in a way *how it felt* to be Zeus and Ceres and Mercury, and all the others. As a matter of fact, genuine, workable, valuable knowledge of anything can be gained only by reacting upon the thing according to its nature in relation to the learner; mere looking at it, or listening to or reading words about it, does not yield understanding that will be of service in the world.

The writer predicts that dramatizing activities will come shortly to occupy a far more important place in school work than they now do in most places. The history and literature classes will be constantly working out into dramatic form what they are studying. This principle, generally applied in the schoolroom, will break up the formality of much of the work. The children who participate in these activities will not only gain a more vivid conception of the persons or events they are learning; but they will at the same time acquire a freedom and readiness in expression which much of our formal school work stifles. How many persons brought up along traditional lines of memorizing words and reciting in history and literature have any power in assuming a character, and representing it effectively? Most of us are too self-conscious for this; we are afraid, when we are in the presence of others, to abandon our own formal personalities. We are stiff, conventional, inflexible. We would unquestionably get more out of life, and be less of a heavy weight on others, if we could be more pliant, capable of giving out a variety of tones, as it were, instead of being incapable of rendering more than one. Freedom in dramatizing in the school should give flexibility to personality, and stretch the *ego* in various directions.

Teachers often say they cannot undertake this work in the school, since they cannot secure the necessary "properties." They feel they must have a stage more or less elaborately fitted out with scenery, and costumes suitable for

the impersonations of gods and goddesses, fairies, and the like. Without question a dramatic representation becomes all the more real to a child if he can array himself in garments which make him outwardly, in his own observation, to resemble his hero. When he actually sees himself decked out in the toggery of another, the momentary illusion that he is that other is made the more real therefor. Even adults are aided in make-believe by appropriate costuming, which strongly suggests the thing which is for the time being to be regarded as real. So if a teacher can have her children construct, or in some way secure, the paraphernalia suitable for the various deities to be represented, and the fairies, giants, heroes, and so on, her pupils will not fail to be benefited thereby in conceiving the scenes depicted in a more lively way.

Theatrical "properties" are not essential

But it is not at all necessary, in order that pupils should enjoy their dramatizations and profit by them, that they should be provided with any accessories whatever. They will enter into the spirit of the drama with vigor without the aid of anything but their imagination. Once they get the feeling of freedom of impersonation, they will make use of any objects that may be at hand to express their conceptions. A girl who is cast for Red Riding-hood will make a basket out of her apron, and will fold a paper for a hood. A boy will flop down on all fours and simulate a wolf, and another boy will find plenty of things about the school building which will serve him, when cast as a hunter, for a gun or a bowie-knife. Indeed, one may see some of the best work in dramatization where the pupils come right out of their seats in their own proper persons and garments, if only they are free in expression, and have gained some self-confidence in playing a part. We need not hesitate to carry forward this work because we cannot have a well-appointed theatre in the schoolroom.

This suggests the interesting and important movement

now in progress to establish theatres in which the players and the audience are mainly children. These theatres are in a sense educational in purpose, the aim being to enact on the stage the best literature within the grasp of children, and suited to impress wholesome ethical lessons. The reports of those who are conducting such theatres are generally enthusiastic in favor of them. The children are always delighted with them; and they exert a potent force for good in a normal way. It is a simple matter of psychology that one can best teach an ethical lesson effectively, especially to children, by having them live through concrete situations in which their feelings are strongly aroused on the side of what is honest and wholesome and fair; and the children's theatre makes it possible to accomplish this. The *principle* of the theatre can be and ought to be applied in every schoolroom, whether of elementary or high-school grade.

Personation is in the large view prospective; it is anticipatory of the future. It might be said to secure adaptation to the world in a vicarious way. If I reproduce the activities of the people in my environment, I may adopt their adjustments without going all through their detailed experiments. Thus in this manner the results of experience in living may be passed on from one individual to another, and from one generation to another. I can cause a child of a year and a half to throw away food by a grimace indicating that it is disagreeable. He does not taste the food himself, but he accepts my adaptation to it as revealed in my expression which he reproduces, and he is in this way harmonizing himself with his environment by utilizing my experience.

Personation is a sort of vicarious adjustment

The influence of imitation in determining the attitudes of children toward the social environment is seen in the following characteristic instance. A girl of four years of age had acquired a respectful, childlike attitude toward her parents. But shortly after her fourth birthday she commenced

to associate with an autocratic child, one who always "had her own way," and "bossed" her mother about a great deal. She rebelled against authority, was domineering and insolent often; in short, she was a "spoiled" child. Now, in a very brief time the first child began to show the effects of keeping bad company. She rapidly assumed a different attitude toward her parents. If she had spent the afternoon at the home of her new-found companion, one would not need at night to ask her where she had been. Her conduct showed this plainly enough. This, in principle, is the way the individual acquires from his associates his attitudes toward the people in his environment, whether these attitudes be right or wrong, and whether advantageous or otherwise.

In the same way a pupil comes to like a certain study or detest it in some measure because of the attitude of his teacher toward it. One teacher dislikes algebra and plainly shows it, and her pupils without knowing why, perhaps, grow to "hate" it. Another teacher loves algebra and is enthusiastic in her praise of it, and her pupils imitate her expressions and become enthusiastic over it also. It is probably true, as a rule, that what a great teacher admires heartily will have a strong attraction for his pupils; and the principle doubtless applies to all the concerns and interests of life. For instance, a freshman in college who joins a fraternity will soon acquire the attitudes of his *fratres* toward all the activities going on about him. If the fraternity looks favorably upon the Y. M. C. A. work, we will say, you will find the novitiate assuming that attitude before long. If, on the other hand, they scoff at this institution, you will observe that the new man soon does the same, though he may know little about its work. He adjusts himself without examination, by appropriating the adjustments of those nearest to him.

In the first chapter attention was called to the fact that children of all ages normally choose for their companions

those of a dynamic nature, who are able "to do things." Persons of a static tendency, though "good" and "respectable," are not commonly emulated by the young. In any community it will probably be found that men of action, whatever this may be — men who accomplish things — become dominant in the personations of the young. Ordinarily the minister does not in any important way determine the dramatic activities of young people, though he may be more potent in the lives of those approaching maturity. In a student community, those who are most studious are not the most prominent in the personating activities of the plastic members of the community; but rather those who excel in athletics or oratory or even "deviltry" tend to become dominant. No matter where the young are found, — in the city, the village, the country, the school, the college, or the commercial establishment, — the ascendant personalities in their emulating activities are those who are bringing things to pass in the most obvious and emphatic manner.

Dominant personalities in any community

Cooley,[1] discussing this particular point, illustrates it in an effective way. Speaking of the child's love of action, he says that "his father sitting at his desk probably seems an inert and unattractive phenomenon, but the man who can make shavings or dig a deep hole is a hero; and the seemingly perverse admiration which children at a later age show for circus men and for the pirates and desperadoes they read about, is to be explained in a similar manner. What they want is *evident* power. The scholar may possibly be as worthy of admiration as the acrobat or the policeman; but the boy of ten will seldom see the matter in that light.

"Thus the idea of power and the types of personality which, as standing for that idea, have ascendancy over us, are a function of our own changing character. At one stage of their growth nearly all imaginative boys look upon some famous soldier as the ideal man. He holds this place as

[1] *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 290, 291.

symbol and focus of aggressive, contending, dominating impulses of vigorous boyhood; to admire and sympathize with him is to gratify, imaginatively, these impulses. In this country, some notable speaker and party leader often succeeds the soldier as a boyish ideal; his career is almost equally dominating and splendid, and, in time of peace, not quite so remote from reasonable aspiration. In later life these simple ideals are likely to yield somewhat to others of a more special character, depending upon the particular pursuit into which one's energies are directed. Every occupation which is followed with enthusiasm has its heroes, men who stand for the idea of power of efficient action as understood by persons of a particular training and habit. The world of commerce and industry is full of hero-worship, and men who have made great fortunes are admired, not unjustly, for the personal prowess such success implies: while people of a finer intellectual development have their notion of power correspondingly refined, and to them the artist, the poet, the man of science, the philanthropist, may stand for the highest sort of successful action."

Are masculine or feminine personalities dominant with the young?

It is worthy of mention in passing that masculine personalities, in modern society, seem to be more dominant in the lives of girls than are feminine personalities in the lives of boys. Indeed, feminine types appear to exert a less important influence upon girls themselves than do men. Girls personate masculine characters more freely than feminine, probably because the former are more prominent in actual life and in literature than the latter. In a coeducational college the women adopt the customs of the men more generally than the other way round. The masculine personality is unquestionably made more dominant in modern life for both sexes, with the result, perhaps, that genuine feminine traits are declining in the race. It is conceivable that under a system of coeducation in which masculinity would constantly be made most conspicuous, and so be emulated by both sexes,

femininity would gradually be eliminated, or at least it would be fundamentally modified. "All studies," says Chambers,[1] "combine to emphasize the appalling extent to which girls emulate male ideals, especially in the adolescent years. There can be no doubt that this tendency has promoted the disintegration of feminine character, and aggravated the excesses of the so-called 'emancipation of women.' The curricula, the books, and the instruction of our schools must be modified so as to supply a sufficient number of worthy feminine ideals for the girls, and in all places the peculiar womanly and domestic qualities of the sex must receive a more outspoken commendation and encouragement if the sex, and consequently the race, is to be restored to the condition of greatest health and progress."

But there is another aspect to this matter. Our elementary and high schools are staffed so largely by women that there is grave danger that boys will not have presented to them for emulation during their most impressionable years concrete masculine types. The situation is becoming all the more serious, since men are, as the years go on, playing a less and less important part in shaping the lives of the young in the home. Many a boy in urban communities does not see his father oftener than once or twice a week, and then not under circumstances so that he may enter into give-and-take relations with him. Consequently, such boys grow up to manhood without having come into genuine vital contact with any adults of the masculine persuasion. His models have been women, — his mother, his governess, his teachers. Foreigners predict that our masculine character will speedily decline under such a régime as this; and there is surely just cause for apprehension. There is probably greater danger of the disintegration of masculine than of feminine character in American life. It seems absolutely imperative that we should have a very much larger proportion of vigorous men in the schools than we now have

[1] "The Evolution of Ideals," *Ped. Sem.* March, 1903.

in every section of the country, if we shall succeed in preserving the masculinity of our boys.

Imitation of abnormal traits

Thus far we have spoken only of the general principle of imitation as it is illustrated in the ordinary phenomena of every-day life in childhood and youth; but we may, before leaving the subject, note especially the tendency of the young to reproduce undesirable physical traits as manifested in those about them. Here are a few typical instances, given by Russell and Haskell,[1] that show the disposition of children to copy more or less abnormal expressions in others, particularly their associates: —

Girl, 9. L. until recently had a teacher whose under lip protruded. After a short time L. held her lip in the same position. Presently she was promoted. The teacher in the new room always kept her lips tightly drawn. L. gave up the old habit, and now goes with lips compressed. We cannot break her of the habit.

Boy, 5. Last fall he went to school for the first time. Soon after, his mother noticed that he had a peculiar squint when very much in earnest. She found later that he got the habit from his teacher.

Boy, 5. My little cousin took a great fancy to our English washerwoman. He soon caught her habit of dropping or inserting the letter "h," and used to sing, "Little Hannie Rooney is my sweet 'art."

An adult makes the following confession: —

When I hear an odd or striking note in music, my throat seems to go through the same strain as the singer's. I do not notice this until the music stops, when I find that my throat really aches from the tension.

Nervous irregularities are contagious among the young. Cases are on record where stammering or involuntary muscular twitching in one pupil has passed swiftly through a whole school. Instances like the following might be cited *ab libitum*: —

When I was four years old, a boy who lived next door stammered badly, and soon had all the children in the vicinity stammering. It was only by means of great exertion that mamma kept me from being a terrible stammerer.

[1] See their "Child Observations," First Series, *Imitation and Allied Activities*, in which are described, with comment, 1208 examples of imitative activities, graded according to age.

Girls, 12–15. In 1894, in the Orphan Asylum at ——, New Jersey, there was a little girl who had chorea. In a short time after her coming, several boys began to imitate her for sport. The habit soon spread to her friends, as well as to those who were making sport of her. A large number of children were affected. After the little girl was sent away from the asylum the choreic movements in the others ceased gradually, except in the case of one child, who was sent to the Asylum for the Feeble-minded as incurable.

Girls, 14–19. In a certain city high school one girl was affected with a spasmodic twitching of the eyes, involving movements of the cheeks. She was a favorite, and soon several of her friends showed signs of the habit. Later, not only her friends, but all who were much in contact with her were affected. At the end of the year this girl went away, and signs of the habit began to die out. The writer caught the habit in a mild form, but "broke off" when she found "how it looked." Another girl was less fortunate. When the movements of her eyes ceased, her head began to jerk.

We do not need to dwell longer upon the proposition that nervous and moral disorders are contagious; the question now is, How may these maladies be controlled? It is significant for our present discussion that every progressive country to-day has rigid laws relating to the control by isolation of infectious diseases. If a man in any of our communities should be attacked by smallpox, say, the board of health in that community, representing the citizens, would at once deprive the individual of his freedom. It would prevent any person except those caring for him from communicating with him directly, by word of mouth, by letter, or in any way in which he might spread his disease. Society proceeds in this way, of course, in order to protect itself from destruction. It acts on the principle that when any one is a source of physical danger to his fellows he forfeits his right to move freely among them. If the unfortunate person himself or any member of his family should protest against the treatment he receives, the community would pay no heed to such objection. If some theorist should claim that the group has no right to deprive one of its members of his liberty, his view of the case would be ignored. Self-protec-

The quarantine of nervous and moral disorders

tion on the part alike of the individual and of society is the first law of life ; and through long ages of tribulation and misfortune we have come to appreciate that this law applies to the control of infectious diseases. In those parts of the world where people are too sentimental or not sufficiently enlightened to protect themselves by quarantine, we see the unhappy outcome in the spread of plagues and epidemics which so frequently destroy entire communities.

As an extension of the general principle of self-protection, we see that advancing countries have taken steps to safeguard the health of school children. In Germany and France especially there is thorough medical inspection of the schools, with the view in part to detect at the outset contagious diseases, and isolate the children who have them so they will not infect their schoolmates. In England there is, as we write, a bill before Parliament to establish a national system of medical inspection, the primary purpose of which is rigorously to control infectious diseases. In the more progressive cities in our own country there is systematic medical inspection. The health authorities in these cities pay no heed to the remonstrances of a parent or a sentimentalist when a child suffering with a communicable disease is excluded from a school, and quarantined in his own home or in some appropriate institution. Wherever this system of medical inspection with quarantine has been tried, the only attitude of the people is to perfect it, never to abandon it.

The principle of self-protection is being carried still further in some of the progressive countries. In London, for instance, there is in operation a plan whereby physicians visit the schools and examine the children for the purpose of detecting nervous disorders, such as St. Vitus Dance, stuttering, and the like. When any cases of these are found they are at once removed from the schools and placed in special institutions. In many cities at home and abroad, the plan of self-protection has been extended so as to provide

for the elimination from the regular schools of children who are backward in their work, or who have deviated from the normal in moral development. It is capable of ready demonstration that a boy who is deficient intellectually, though he may not be feeble-minded, is a source of infection to normal children with whom he comes in close contact in the classroom. He tends to set a standard for the normal individuals, though they do not consciously imitate him. A large part of all that exerts a vital influence upon the conduct of children does not become defined in consciousness in any explicit sense; it is a matter of suggestion simply. This is peculiarly true in respect to nervous, intellectual, and moral defects, which makes quarantine in regard to these disorders absolutely imperative.

The situation in our country

Now, go into the schools in most of the smaller cities and villages anywhere in our country, and you will certainly find pupils who are two or three grades behind their proper class. The teachers will tell you that these pupils cannot do the work assigned them, and they are a constant source of trouble. They hold back the children who are capable of working more rapidly and effectively, and consequently they are a cause of waste of schoolroom energy; and what is worse, they are the means of developing vicious mental habits in normal pupils. No matter what may have occasioned their deviation, they are a nuisance in the schools. In accordance with law they are compelled to go to school, and there is no place to put them except with normal individuals. A teacher recently said that three backward boys in her room consumed practically all her time and strength, while the children who could profit best by her instruction were failing to get what was their due.

But unfortunate as the situation is in respect to backward children in the schools, it is far worse in respect to those who are morally delinquent. One may see boys in the schools of many of our cities and towns who corrupt all the

children with whom they come in contact. Among other failings, they smoke cigarettes and are vulgar in speech and in action. They sit in the schoolroom and caricature the teacher when she is giving a moment's attention to some other pupil. Just as infectious diseases spread against all resistance when the infected person is in contact with others, so the influence of the perverted boy permeates a school in spite of all that can be done to counteract it. The situation is especially deplorable among us, since our schools are for the most part in charge of women, who cannot supervise the playgrounds and congregating places of the boys, so that the evil-minded individual is left free to spread moral infection wherever he goes.

If one should venture to recommend that a special school be established in a village for this class of boys, he will find that certain persons will claim that such a school would be undemocratic. "No child ought to be humiliated by being put into such a school," they say; "we have got on well enough in the past; let us not now adopt any newfangled ways." This in plain speech is shallow sentimentalism. If a boy breaks into a house and robs, we do not think it undemocratic to send him to the reform school; but if he is corrupting his classmates, and making it impossible for the school to do its work, then we are told it is "aristocratic" and "autocratic" to protect ourselves by isolating him.

Shallow sentimentalism in dealing with subnormal children in the schools

This sentimental attitude works harm to every one concerned. These boys who are a source of moral contagion in the school are every day going from bad to worse. They are constantly in a hostile attitude toward the work of the school. They are made conscious of the fact that they are exceptional; and by a fundamental law of human nature they resist those who attack them and impute meanness to them, with the result that they grow continually meaner. They would destroy the school and the teacher if they

could, for they cannot adjust themselves to its demands, either intellectual or moral. So their aim is to sow the wind, to exalt disorder, to resist authority. This is but natural; we all plot against the individual or the institution that we feel is opposed to our interests.

The situation with us is all the more serious, since, as stated above, our schools are in feminine hands. It will be granted, of course, that women can do for children a great many things which men cannot do for them; but in most schools there are boys who need a kind of treatment which women cannot possibly give them. Women do not know what boys of this sort require anyway; and they could not administer the medicine even if they knew what was appropriate. But put these boys under men who know boy nature, and who have made it their business to study the conditions that produce backwardness and deviation, and what will be the results? The thing has been done in some places at home, and here and there abroad, and we know what can be accomplished for such boys. The first transformation which occurs in them, according to the writer's observation, is that they begin to take an interest in the work of this special school, which should be worked out on a masculine plan. There is usually some study of nature at first hand, and a good deal of manual work, without which it is practically impossible to reach backward or wayward boys and influence them for good. Some of the roughest boys have gone through one such school which the writer has studied, and they have come out capable of making an honorable living, and getting on peaceably with their fellows. So it is far better for the boy himself, as well as for the community, that he should be put into the ungraded school than that he should keep on in the regular school for which he is entirely unfitted.

The principle in question here has universal application in all social education. Wrong action of any sort when put before children tends to be absorbed by them, on account of their imitative disposition, unless hostility to it can be

aroused. Even then it often persists in the attention of those who behold it, until finally it may become expressed in the conduct of some of them. Many persons have the experience that when they see an individual who has a peculiar facial expression, say, they can with difficulty prevent themselves from imitating the expression, even though they may not wish so to do; and even though they struggle against it they may, in an unguarded moment, execute it. Whatever is seen or heard that makes an impression upon the observer is likely to keep bombarding consciousness until it gets itself realized in appropriate action. This is the very essence of imitation, which is in childhood primarily, though not entirely, a more or less subconscious process.

Does a copy presented to the young for imitation sometimes arouse antithetic action?

Of course, if any act which is perceived by a child awakens in him strong impulses to act in the opposite direction, the result may be that instead of imitating the copy he may become more firmly set against it. This in social education may operate in two very different ways. In the first place, if the representatives of the school or the church arouse antagonism in the individual, they will be likely to develop in him a settled tendency to do just the reverse from that which is desired of him. If the teacher is precise and accurate in speech, the pupil may deliberately strive to be slovenly and inaccurate in his own speech. If the minister will not use profane language, the boy on the street who reacts against him may devote himself to the acquisition of a vocabulary of profanity. One often sees persons in a community who take pleasure in consciously doing the opposite of the church people among whom they live, and who, instead of being reacted upon as models for imitation, are the means of inciting just the contrary attitudes from their own. In the same way, religiously inclined persons are usually strengthened in their special tendencies by observing those of contrary inclinations with whom they are really, though they may not be outwardly, in conflict.

This tendency for the individual under certain conditions to act in a hostile way to the copies set before him may serve to develop in him social attitudes when he observes one in whose conduct are exhibited anti-social traits. For example, the teacher, wishing to awaken in her pupils antagonism toward cigarette-smoking, may hold up before her class for their observation a typical case of the vice she desires her pupils to avoid. Or she may take her children to see specimens of drunkenness in a barroom or on the street; or she may describe a case so vividly that it can be readily imaged by her auditors. Often one sees moral and ethical teaching proceed on this principle, and at times the end aimed at is undoubtedly attained. But it is equally probable that on many occasions the "horrible example" presented to the young becomes fixed in their attention, and in time, if not immediately, is imitated more or less completely. At best there is danger in putting before the young while they are still very plastic concrete types of ethical and moral error, though the danger is much less, speaking generally, during adolescence, and especially in maturity. However, it might be decidedly dangerous to put before youth definite examples of licentiousness; for then the organism is especially sensitive to this sort of thing, and the individual is exceedingly plastic with reference to it, so that it may easily fasten itself in his attention and become a model for imitation. Whenever at any point in development the individual's nature makes him especially susceptible to any form of social, ethical, or moral errancy, it is at least perilous to attempt to awaken hostile attitudes in him toward the thing in question by showing him concrete illustrations thereof.

Résumé

In any biological group the exceptional individual generally arouses the antagonism of the group, unless he be accepted as a leader. The group wishes to secure homogeneity among its members, and it penalizes those who do not conform to group customs, standards, attitudes. The deepest impulse in an individual, perhaps, at

least in his early years, is to assimilate the fundamental traits of the group into which he is born ; and this he does through imitation.

The young child imitates mainly the simpler bodily attitudes and vocal and facial expressions of those with whom he is in vital contact. As he develops he imitates ever more complex activities of a social, political, ethical, æsthetic, and industrial character. The novice always reproduces only the elemental characteristics, not the differentiated details, of any activity. In the beginning it is the *doing* of an act, not the results thereof, that interests the individual ; the reverse is usually true in maturity.

Personation is the chief activity in childhood. Any living thing the child has seen or heard described may be personated. However, complex social and other attitudes of human beings are not personated until maturity is approached. From the simple to the more complex holds in personation as in other activities. The child not only personates living things, but he freely constructs them in his fancy, objectifies them, and then reacts as though they were real. Thus he will "imagine" his nursery chair is a bear, and he will in make-believe conduct himself as though it actually were such.

Plato condemned the personation by children of human beings of an unworthy type, as rogues, comedians, etc., and also animals, as dogs, roosters, and the like, since this, he thought, would arrest their development into the highest type of human beings. But to-day we realize that in make-believe a child may play many parts, but preserve his own proper personality intact.

In his personating activity the child increases the amplitude of his powers, stretches his personality, gains the point of view of those personated, and appropriates their adjustments. In a certain sense he pre-adjusts himself to his environment. The best way to learn a thing is to endeavor to assume its personality, and to react as it would in any given situation.

It is encouraging to note the introduction into the schools of dramatization of myths and fables, and even literature and history. This work should be greatly extended. Every school should be provided with facilities for the dramatic treatment of literature, history, etc. But elaborate "properties" are not in the least essential to efficient work of this character.

The dominant personalities in any community, so far as the young are concerned, are always those who are conspicuously dynamic, though there is usually a change in this respect with development. However, even in maturity the individual is dominated by those who are most effective in the fields of action in which he is specially interested. Masculine more than feminine personalities are, as a rule, dominant for both sexes, though our present-day social and educational régime is tending to eliminate masculine types for the emulation of the young in home and school.

Expressions of abnormal as well as normal traits are freely imitated by the young. This means that for social well-being all individuals who are ethically and morally sub-normal should be quarantined. Special ungraded schools or rooms should be established in every community; these will prove a blessing, alike to exceptional children and to those who are normal.

Sometimes copies presented to the young for emulation may incite directly contrary conduct. The representations of the church, the school, etc., should be capable of securing positive responses from the young ; otherwise they will spread disrespect and disorder with regard to the fundamental institutions of society. On the whole, it is a dangerous practice to present to the young concrete types of immoral conduct in the effort to arouse hostility thereto.

REFERENCES FOR READING

The purpose kept constantly in mind, in the preparation of the following list of books and articles, has been to suggest those, easily accessible for the most part, which bear quite directly upon the problems of social development and education as they have been discussed in this volume. It has not been the intention to present an exhaustive bibliography of the literature in this particular field; on the contrary, the greater portion, perhaps, of such literature has purposely not been mentioned at all. The primary reason for omitting so many references that discuss in some manner the social, ethical, or moral training of children is that they do not consider the subject from the standpoint taken in the present volume. Of course, no one will infer from this statement that it is thought these other points of view are not worth taking; certainly they are. But it has seemed best herein to keep quite closely, in the reference list as well as in the text, to the naturalistic way of looking at child development and education, to the end that this point of view may be given the emphasis which it appears to merit.

The aim in selecting these references from all the available books and articles has been to make a reading list which would not seem too elaborate, and especially not too technical for the average student or practical person, parent or teacher or law-maker, who might wish to get a glimpse, at least, of what has been contributed to the subject by ancient as well as by modern writers upon education, and also by contemporary psychology in its various phases, child-study, anthropology, sociology, evolution, and autobiography. The author has attempted to choose the best typical references in these several fields, — the *best*, considering the needs of those who will probably be specially interested, theoretically and practically, in the development and training of children in respect to their social adjustments. Without doubt some readers will question why certain references have been omitted; but the author appreciates that it is entirely impossible to make a select bibliography in any field which will in details meet the approval of all who may be interested therein. The personal factor necessarily plays a more or less prominent rôle when the

relative values of various books is being determined. But if any reader should feel that certain references which are lacking in this list should have been included, he is requested kindly to remember that those that are presented treat the subject in hand from a rather special point of view, and that they have been chosen because they seem to present a given topic more effectively than other books.

For the convenience of those who may not be familiar with the literature in this field, the general character of each reference is denoted as follows: (1) Classical writers on child training by AE; (2) modern writers on general education by ME; treatises dealing solely with ethical, moral, or social education by EE; (3) references on ethical theory, without special regard to education by ET; (4) references on religious theory or education by RE; (5) psychological references, general and experimental, by P; (6) sociological references by S; (7) contributions from child-study, which includes a wide variety of references not conveniently classified under (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6), by CS; anthropological literature by A; evolutionary literature by D; and autobiographies by X. Some of the references should be mentioned in two or more of these groups, and this fact is appropriately indicated.

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EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS, PART I

Based on Chapters I–VIII inclusive

I. SOCIABILITY

1. In what respect does the infant distinguish between objects and persons? between persons in general and his mother and nurse? In the beginning does he realize that objects are to be *used* merely? What is the evidence upon which your answer is based?

2. Do the children of primitive tribes manifest greater desire for the companionship of adults than do the children of advanced peoples? Or is it the other way around? Try to account for any difference which exists between them.

3. Does the child's attitude toward persons change when he begins to walk, and so to move about freely among them? If so, just what change takes place, and why? In the same way, say whether his attitude toward persons changes when he begins to talk so that he can be understood.

4. Are children of five, say, more sociable toward their pets, as puppies and kittens, than toward their brothers and sisters? In what situations would a typical child choose to be with pets rather than with people? What is the basis for this interest in pets?

5. What is the real attitude of babies described as "good" who, if properly cared for, will lie in their cradles apparently feeling no need of companionship, even after reaching the age when they know, and in a way appreciate, the mother and the nurse?

6. How far does physical attractiveness in the *alter* influence the expression of sociability on the part of a child of five? of a boy of seventeen? of a girl of the latter age? of an adult?

7. Which is more favorable to the development of genuine sociability in children, parents who are dynamic or those who are relatively neutral in a social sense? Why?

8. Does a markedly dynamic boy of inferior social station in any community appeal to the typical girl of seventeen more strongly than a neutral boy of high social standing? Will she ignore the social stratification of her community in favor of the former? If so, why?

9. What answer would you give to the following question, asked by a high-school principal: —

> Is it not often true that groups of boys from the age of eighteen onward insist upon including in their parties unusually attractive girls of lower social standing in the community rather than the girls with whom they habitually associate?

If this is the case, how may we account for it? Is it different in city as compared with country groups?

10. If adolescent boys are really more "liberal" than girls in their social groupings, why are they so willing (as many say they are) to accept the group limitations determined largely by the girls with whom they associate?

11. Can a child of wealth, who is richly provided with good clothes, toys, and other luxuries, be kept humble and sociable toward his less favored associates by the admonition simply of wise parents? Give specific instances to illustrate your opinion.

12. The State of Nebraska conducts a large number of corn-growing contests among farmer boys from fifteen to twenty-one years of age. The State Superintendent says that the boys form clubs for this purpose, but are actuated largely by the desire to secure money prizes. Why should the financial factor seem more important to the boys than the social one? Mention other apparently purely social activities of boys in which the financial factor is really the dominant one. Are country boys more eager to obtain money than city boys? Why?

13. Is the effort to curb high-school fraternities wise?

(*a*) Are the standards and ideals of the fraternities adapted to the needs and interests of high-school students ?

(*b*) Are social distinctions certain to be drawn in high schools, even if fraternities are abolished ?

(*c*) How far can pure democracy (or sociability) in a high school be stimulated or restricted by arbitrary commands or rulings of authorities ?

14. Are college fraternities and sororities of benefit to a college community as a whole? Are they of benefit to their individual members? Is there a more democratic spirit in non-fraternity than in fraternity colleges? Give concrete evidence in support of your position.

15. From the point of view of the development of sociability in childhood and youth discuss : —

(*a*) The gymnasiums and reading-rooms connected with churches in certain communities.

(*b*) The Y. M. C. A. athletic clubs found in many cities.

(*c*) Inter-denominational ball games for boys.

(*d*) Any similar efforts to coördinate athletics, sociability, and religious spirit.

16. "Mere static goodness is not rated high among children." Is it so rated among adolescents? among adults in business? in education? in religion? Is it the same in the country as in the city?

17. In groups formed by girls, is it often the case that individuals are left alone more because they hold themselves aloof than because they are not wanted in the group? Give concrete instances in illustration of your answer.

18. Does the child's choice of companions differ according to his needs at any moment; as, for example, when he desires sympathy, does he seek out a particular member of the group or the family? When he wants a "good time," does he seek out a different person? etc.

19. Would the presence of mother or father mean anything at all to the child if such presence were abstracted from the service rendered? Just what would lead the child to differentiate people from things if the former did not minister to his wants?

20. "Girls admire most those boys who are good in books." Is this quotation, taken from a recent educational book, true? Discuss the matter in the light of definite concrete cases with which you are familiar.

21. Do parents as a rule insist upon one standard of behavior when there is "company" in the house, and another standard when there is no one present but the family? What effect does such training have on the social development of children? Is it of advantage to children to have much "company" in the home? Is it of advantage in youth? Compare city and country children in this respect.

22. Is the increase in self-consciousness, which appears at adolescence, the cause of "clothes talk" among girls? Is there anything like this among boys? Do country girls pass through a "clothes-minded" period? Describe the attitudes of a girl who has "clothes on the brain."

23. Give your opinion in response to the following question asked by a parent: —

My two little daughters are the direct opposite of one another in respect to their interest in clothes. The older one has now and has always had, a decided love for pretty things, while the other manifests no such interest. Why should there be this difference, both having been reared under the same influences?

24. Is it true that girls often "take up" with new-found associates who have good clothes, but who have little if any skill or initiative in "doing things"?

25. Do all children strive to secure the good-will of their fellows? When they fail so to do, what is the reason? Describe a child you know well who does not have the good-will of his fellows, and show why he does not.

26. Present-day mothers are often advised to leave their children alone very much of the time during the first year or two of life. What would be the effect of such a method of training upon the social development of a child? Have you known children who have had this experience? If so, describe their social tendencies.

27. "A child is pleasurably affected in the presence of his mother because he feels her to be a friend." How early can a child distinguish between "friends" and others? Upon what data does he make such a distinction? Upon what data do you make such a distinction?

28. Does the typical two-year-old child prefer an adult to a child of his own age as competitor in his plays? What determines whether an adult or a playmate will be preferred? Do boys of ten, say, enjoy having their teachers for playfellows? Why, in any case? How is it with boys of fifteen? with girls of the same age?

29. Is it true of the adult as of the child, that he may frequently be spiteful and aggressive in the home, yet on the street be habitually gentle and docile toward members of the family? What principle is involved in your answer?

30. Do children who "naturally put on airs" ever become humble and modest? If so, indicate the developmental forces which produce the change? Describe a case of this sort you have known intimately.

31. Are crippled children, those who cannot play, ever favorites with normal children? Are such unfortunates left aside entirely? How about the boy who has lost a leg in an accident, for instance; is he ever a leader of a group? Is such a boy ever admired because he has only one leg, and is regarded as a hero? Be specific and concrete in your discussion.

32. Is the popular saying true, that most boys who take pride in being poor in scholarship are leaders in school activities outside the classroom? Discuss this question in the light of data furnished by the pupils you know best. If it is true, what is the explanation?

33. Which is more favorable to the development of genuine sociability in children, teachers who are dynamic or those who are relatively neutral in a social sense? Why?

34. Is there any relation of cause and effect between one's occupation in maturity and his sociable tendencies?

Give numerous concrete illustrations in support of your view.

35. What qualities in an adult make him a "natural" leader of children? Describe at least five such natural leaders whom you know well. Also describe at least one person whom you know who has made a failure in his attempts to lead children.

36. Are the qualities essential for leadership of children of eight also essential for leadership of adolescent children? Have you known persons who could easily impress and influence young children but who could not make an impression upon high-school students? If so, explain the case.

37. If it were possible for a strictly male community to develop a very complex social organization, would such democracy as is usually seen in lumbering and mining camps prevail? Why?

38. Is there a difference between young boys and young girls in their charitable tendencies in sociability? How is it with boys and girls at adolescence? Describe instances you have known of genuine charity in the sociable expression of children.

39. Why do young children normally tell "family secrets" to strangers whenever they have an opportunity so to do? Do city and country children differ in their tendency to communicate with acquaintances and friends? Is there a difference between boys and girls in this respect? If so, how can this difference be accounted for?

40. Why do certain people always act contrary to the views and the desires of the groups of which they are members? Would it be better for themselves and for their groups if they were more conformable to group sentiment? Describe in detail at least two persons of this kind.

41. Why are certain persons more given to "gossip" than others? Are women more likely than men to indulge in "gossip"? Or is it the other way around? If there is a difference, what conditions have produced it?

42. Why are practically all persons, adults as well as children, so eager to communicate "news"? Have you known people who were not inclined to do this? If so, try to account for them as exceptions to the rule.

43. Do children tell tales on each other primarily for the purpose of making the *alter* suffer, or of gaining commendation and approval by making themselves for the moment important through the imparting of information which will interest others, especially their elders?

44. Does a child of eight, say, normally show that he takes account of public opinion in regard to such a thing as theft? What is the evidence, *pro* or *con?*

45. In trying to gain permission to "do things," does a child usually cite to his parents or his teacher other children who are permitted to do what is denied him? If so, point out the social meaning of such a tendency.

46. Comment on the following incidents furnished by an observer of children: —

(*a*) I have in mind a babe who when he was only three and one half months old would, upon the return of his father at noon, kick, coo, and lift his little hands in order to have his father take him. The same babe, at six months of age, when left with his father while his mother went down town, cried unceasingly. The father tried in every way to appease him, but he cried all the harder. Finally, the father left him alone in the house, and went down town for the mother. As soon as she appeared, the babe stopped crying.

(*b*) My little nephew, three years old, runs to his mother whenever anything unpleasant happens to him or whenever he wants anything. But whenever he sees his father he will manifest the greatest enthusiasm. He will always do whatever his father asks him in preference to the requests of his mother. His father takes him to the barn and allows him to ride the horses; and he also plays with him in a rough-and-tumble manner.

47. Discuss the following: —

The desire for companionship is an inheritance from an ancestry that must have sought it in order to survive.

48. A certain girl in the third grade of a city school desires while at school to be alone constantly. She does not

seem happy in the presence of others. In her home she is exceedingly social with all the members of the family, but "shy" of strangers. Might she be regarded as a non-communicative type? What may be the cause of her reticence at school, and her tendency to be "distant" toward unfamiliar persons? What advice would you give her parents and teacher respecting the training of this child in her social relations?

49. What would be the proper course for a teacher to pursue in dealing with the following instance of ostracism among children, often seen in group relations, as in large schools: —

In the seventh grade of a public school there was a little foreign girl, who did exceptionally good work, in the neatest possible manner. She was always dressed nicely and "behaved" very well; and yet the girls in her class were unfriendly toward her. One day, these girls assembled at recess and decided that she was "likable," but as she was a foreigner they could not associate with her. She learned of this and wept bitterly, but this did not affect the girls at all.

50. Do the children of markedly intellectual parents regard the dynamic abilities of their playmates as highly as do the children of parents of moderate intelligence? Do the former children place chief value upon mental superiority in their social groupings earlier than do the latter children? Describe concrete types of children referred to in this question.

51. What proportion of the children you know well prefer to gather about themselves groups of rather static admirers instead of more dynamic groups of "thingers"? Are there sex differences in this respect? Do the "brighter" children incline to be learners or teachers? Does the situation change in the course of development?

52. Have you ever noticed a desire upon the part of children to associate with others who are inferior to them in physical and intellectual ability? If so, how would you explain their interest?

53. Do friends (adults as well as children) usually or ever take pleasure in tattling upon each other? Why?

54. Does the suppression by the group of the unconventional or non-conformable type of person operate to prevent the development of valuable ideas and inventions? Does the typical school tend to do this too greatly? Be specific in your answer.

55. What principle is illustrated in the following testimony of a parent: —

> My little boy was always determined to run on ahead when walking with me, though later in life he proved to lack none of the social qualities.

56. Suppose that the child of the millionaire will play gladly with the child of the day laborer; does not the rôle which each takes in this play show some appreciation of differences in social status? Describe a situation in which a boy from a wealthy home plays with a boy from the home of a workingman, pointing out the rôle which each takes in the play.

57. Describe an adult who manifests sociable feeling toward those who can be of no possible service to him. Endeavor to state just what is the source of the friendly feeling in such a case.

58. Could you be sociable with a neutral human being, — one who could teach you nothing, or who could not assist you in attaining any objects you desired, or who could not gratify your æsthetic or other interests, or upon whom you could not practice any social activity? Look about among your friends and note whether their sociable impulses are strongly expressed toward those who are relatively neutral. What qualities in your associates arouse the strongest sociable feeling on your part?

59. To what extent do you commune with the "people of your fancy"? Do you ever actually converse with these imaginary persons? Would you often rather hold communion with ideal than with flesh-and-blood personages? Discuss

this matter in respect to the changes that have occurred since you were a child.

60. Are the adults you know best (including yourself) guided in their social adjustments mainly by public or by individual opinion? How can you tell which sort of opinion weighs most heavily with them? Make out a list of the acts you perform in response to public sentiment.

II. COMMUNICATION

1. Is "no impression without expression" more true in childhood than in adolescence? than in maturity? Show the bearing of your answer upon the tendency to communicate in childhood and in youth.

2. Does the typical child communicate more freely with his father than with his mother? Or is the reverse true? Is there any change in this regard as development proceeds? Are there certain kinds of experience which are habitually shared with the father, say, and other kinds which are shared with the mother? If so, why?

3. Does an adult who appears to bear misfortunes without complaint outgrow the desire of his youth to be recognized as a hero or a martyr? What proportion of the adults you know intimately "keep their trials absolutely to themselves"? Give typical concrete instances.

4. How old would you think that boy to be who, when his teacher pointed out that his seatmate had done better work in the arithmetic test than he, said, "Well, I can wallop him, anyway"? Was he a typical boy?

5. What differences may be noticed in the freedom and the character of the communications of a boy of ten who has lived a secluded life with his grandparents, and the typical boy who has had brothers and sisters, and who has had intimate contact with boy companions at school and on the street? Describe specific cases you have observed.

6. It is a common saying that wine and cigars encourage friendly communicability among men. If this be true, how can we account for it? In this connection comment on the significance of "The Pipe of Peace" ceremonies in fraternal organizations, college societies, and the like.

7. Why is reticence usually thought to indicate greater wisdom in a person than volubility? Have you known of instances proving the reverse of this?

8. What is the significance of the policy of the United States government in providing two lighthouse keepers at lonely stations where the work to be done might readily be accomplished by one?

9. What effect has the life of the lonely sheep herder on the vast ranches of the West upon his desire to communize his experience with his fellows? Do you know whether the cowboy is contented when he leaves the plains, and takes up his residence in the city?

10. Give a detailed account of how any particular invention or discovery of service to mankind is made known from one end of the world to the other. Make out a list of all the ways in which knowledge is spread among men. Is "news" disseminated by the same agencies? Does "news" travel faster than knowledge? If so, why? Is the average man more eager to read his daily paper than a new scientific book presenting fresh facts and principles of vital concern to him in daily life? Why?

11. Is it of greater importance in American life to-day that a man should be keenly sensitive to public opinion on any question than that his grandfather should have been? Why?

12. Comment on the following testimony from an observant mother: —

> The relations between my daughter (now aged twenty-one) and myself have always been close and sympathetic. There was no period in her development when she was in any degree reticent in her confidences, but instead, from babyhood to maturity she has come to me with

all her perplexities and troubles, whether of slight or of great import. Has this been due to peculiarly sympathetic relations between us ? Is she an exceptional person ?

13. Do you know of exceptions to the following principle? Describe occasions when this principle has been reversed, according to your observations, and explain if you can : —

The individual is readier in insisting upon the *alter* bearing the pains and penalties of his misdeeds than in receiving rewards for his good actions.

14. Is the following experience, described by a woman, a common one : —

When a child of eight years I was devotedly attached to a boy of about the same age, and he to me. Other children did not "guy" us for our affection. I am sure we differentiated in our affections between boys and girls.

15. Have you observed cases like the following : —

I have in mind a clergyman, a scholar in his particular field, who seems very much interested in the petty gossip of his neighborhood, more so indeed than the "common" men of the community are.

16. Comment on the following typical case of childish insubordination : —

I am boarding in a family where there is a boy aged eleven years. There is constant conflict between him and his parents concerning his conduct. The boy insists upon having his own way, until very forceful measures are taken by his parents to compel obedience. It seems to be pure meanness on his part.

Does the fact that this boy lives in a boarding-house bear upon the question of his opposition to the wishes of his parents?

17. Write out in detail what *meanness* in children implies in respect to their relation with people ? Are mean children *born* so, or *made* so? Give specific instances to illustrate your answer.

18. Is this statement, made by a superintendent of schools, true according to your observation ? Give concrete evidence *pro* or *con* : —

Young children seem more anxious that others should share in their own experiences, than that they themselves should share in the experiences of their fellows.

19. What answer will you give to this question, asked by an observer of children : —

Is not the child's reputation in regard to his tendency to communicate everything due largely to his lack of appreciation of a suitable time and place in which to express himself ?

20. What is your opinion on this point : —

Is the fact that the boy at adolescence shows less disposition to communize than does the girl due entirely to adolescent changes ?

21. Are boys of eighteen or so normally interested in debating clubs ? Would they rather "argue" without observing Robert's rules of order? Does a boy tend to argue more or to argue less with his mates after he joins a debating club ?

22. Does the necessity of "looking out for themselves" early in life cause much of the reticence seen in certain persons, boys as well as girls, as they approach maturity ? Does it help or hinder freedom in communicability to be early thrown on one's own resources ? Describe specific cases of this sort you have known.

23. Go over the lives of the persons with whom you have grown up, and present some positive evidence bearing upon the vital problems indicated in the following questions. Do not let preconception determine what evidence you will select.

Is not the attitude of the home largely responsible for any child's insisting upon having his own way ?

Should not the home, in some respects at least, be toward the boy more like the "gangs" whose suggestions he so readily follows ?

The "gang" views his conduct with much more indifference than the typical parent seems able to.

24. Have you known pupils who seemed to be pleased when their classmates received higher marks than they did themselves ? Are pupils often satisfied with a low grade, if others in their classes are still lower ? Discuss the bearing

of your answers upon the plan of giving marks to pupils, showing whether social development is helped or hindered thereby.

25. How do particular individuals in a college community influence the general opinion of a student body?

(*a*) Study the editorials of a college daily; in how far do they reflect or antagonize prevailing opinion? How far do the suggestions contained in the editorials have weight?

(*b*) What types of college students most largely influence the opinions of the student body?

26. In any class of students, observe the individuals thereof in the effort to select those who are communicative and those who are apparently reticent? Try to account for the difference in freedom of expression. How does each affect the group? Does the communicative student listen patiently while his mates express themselves? Discuss this fact: In most universities graduates of normal schools are "called down" by their classmates for continually "butting in," as the college slang puts it. Why should normal graduates be readier in expression than others?

27. To what extent can "bashfulness" be overcome by effort on the part of an individual? Do not theorize on this; base your answer on concrete evidence.

28. Discuss the responsiveness of individuals in the community you know best to the following sentiments: —

(*a*) Group scorn of a boy "who will not fight."

(*b*) Group scorn of "sissy boys."

(*c*) "When you are in Rome, do as the Romans do."

(*d*) "Forget a man's past: never a woman's."

29. What characteristics must a man possess in order successfully to stand out against community sentiment on a matter of politics? of religion? of morality? Give examples from history in which this has been done.

30. What is the result upon the social ideals of the young of society overlooking the moral shortcomings of men like Burns and Byron?

31. To what extent are children normally inclined to shield their playmates in their wrong-doing? Is there a change in respect to this matter as development proceeds? How is it in the high school? in the college?

32. What do you think is the real reason why the child wishes all those about him to take such an attitude as he himself takes toward any object or experience?

33. When a man makes an important discovery and derives pleasure from publishing the fact, is this pleasure of a purely personal character, or does it arise out of his unselfish interest in the discovery itself? Illustrate with specific instances.

34. Are children who are very diffident, and who never make advances to strangers, likely to be all the more expressive in the home? Do men who talk but little out in the world have a good deal to say in the home, and *vice versa*? How is it with women?

35. Do children learn an ethical or moral lesson all the more readily when they are unconscious of the fact that their teachers are seeking to impress such a lesson? Why?

36. What are the predominating principles of right and wrong which boys of ten or so make use of in determining whether an act performed by a member of the group should be praised or censured? Describe specific cases.

37. What proportion of the adults in the communities you know endeavor to realize in their own beliefs and conduct the ideals of the community? What proportion try to win over their associates and the public to their own views and standards of behavior?

38. Do children before the age of adolescence feel chagrined if older people take no notice of them? If so, how do they show their displeasure? Is there any change in this matter at adolescence?

39. Are the following cases typical or only exceptional?

I have known a number of cases of boys who, during the adolescent period (from fourteen to eighteen), would never say a word at dinner-

table about the happenings of the day at school or elsewhere, but after eighteen or nineteen their whole attitude seemed to change. They began to talk about their affairs and became interesting conversationalists.

40. Is it true that every person normally has a certain field of activity in which he feels thoroughly at home, although he may be bashful and ill at ease in every other social situation?

41. Is the regard for public sentiment greater among the educated than among the uneducated members of the community? Are college trained people as a rule conformists or nonconformists in respect to conventionalities in matters of dress, or daily conduct, or religion, or morals? Do revolutionary suggestions in government come usually from the most or the least educated people in a country?

III. ETHICAL ATTITUDES

1. How does the child discover that others may suffer pain in any situation as he may himself? Discuss this question in respect to definite concrete instances you have observed.

2. Give concrete illustrations, taken from the lives of older children, which tend to show that the reaction of the *alter* upon the individual's expressions furnishes him his most important data for gaining the notion that the *alter* is possessed of desires and needs like his own.

3. What are the social implications of the term "cruelty"? Describe a genuine case of cruel action you have observed on the part of a child, and say why he should have been guilty of it.

4. Discuss the social and educational bearings of the policy of offering for good conduct such rewards as the following:

(*a*) A mother says to her two-year-old child: "Baby may go down town if he stops crying."

(*b*) A father says to his ten-year-old son: "You may have an ice-boat, if you get your lessons perfectly."

(*c*) Giving honors to pupils for perfect attendance at school.

(*d*) Excusing students from examinations if they attain a high standing in class work.

5. Cite, if you can, concrete examples of children on whom the promising of rewards for good behavior has had an unwholesome influence. Describe these cases in detail.

6. What principle of ethical development is illustrated in a child whipping his rocking-horse or drowning his toy soldiers?

7. How does the influence of a counselor, as the minister or the teacher, who advises ethical conduct, become transformed into principles of action for the child? Work out a specific case illustrating the principle.

8. Name at least ten concrete experiences which a typical ten-year-old boy might have, and which would help to establish right ethical attitudes on his part.

9. What is the social significance of the appeal to students and even faculty, heard so frequently in the present-day high school and college, —"Come out and support our team." Is such an appeal ever heard in the elementary school? Discuss the developmental principle involved in your answer.

10. Discuss the ethical value for a child of eight of his joining a church. For a youth of fifteen. For a man of twenty-five.

11. What would you say was the ethical effect upon a willful son of an angry father saying to him, —"Well, if you won't learn anything from me, you 'll get it pounded into you out in the world"?

12. Which most stimulates ethical growth in children, — repressive measures, punishments, etc., or commendatory measures, approving words, etc.? Give concrete examples to illustrate your answer.

13. Does the study of a subject like algebra contribute to the development of concrete ethical sentiment? Be definite and detailed in your answer.

14. Discuss the principle involved in 13 in respect to the study of (*a*) physics, (*b*) history, (*c*) Latin, (*d*) grammar, (*e*) composition, (*f*) domestic science, (*g*) drawing,

(*h*) geography, (*i*) botany, (*j*) spelling, (*k*) bookkeeping, (*l*) stenography, (*m*) music, and (*n*) English literature.

15. "During the early weeks of life a child is concerned solely with the interests of self." What is the effect upon his ethical development of his mother urging him to respond to her expressions?

16. Does it help or hinder a child's social development for adults to stimulate him to social reactions of one sort or another? Give concrete instances illustrating your view.

17. Say whether the following experience of a school principal is typical: —

I remember that for a number of years after leaving the normal school I never faced a situation in teaching without asking myself, "What would Miss D. do?" (Miss D. was the supervisor of practice.)

Give instances from your own experience to illustrate the principle.

18. Will the typical child of three choose to be in responsive relations with persons most of the time in contrast to his playthings? Under what conditions will the child leave persons for his toys. Discuss these questions in respect to children of different ages, up through the adolescent period.

19. Discuss vivisection in respect to —

(*a*) Its influence upon the ethical sentiment of those who perform it.

(*b*) Its influence upon the ethical sentiment of the community in which it is practiced.

(*c*) Say whether children are instinctively in sympathy with or hostile to vivisection, and whether there is any change in this regard as development proceeds.

20. What is the influence upon the ethical sentiments of children of the following sorts of experience: —

(*a*) Living in the vicinity of slaughter-houses, or witnessing the butchering of hogs or cattle on the farm.

(*b*) Participating in barbecues and the like.

(*c*) Being in attendance upon an execution of a human being by hanging or otherwise.

(*d*) Being in a home or a school where corporal punishment is frequently administered.

21. In the case of the child of A. J. H., mentioned on page 55, would it have been better for the parent to have used means other than moral suasion to secure the desired action? Discuss the matter in detail, pointing out the effect upon the child's ethical development of different methods of treatment.

22. Do inanimate objects exert any influence on the ethical development of the child? Consider in this connection the boy's tin soldiers, the girl's doll, and so on.

23. What is the effect on the child's ethical development of having little or no masculine influence in his training in the home or in the school?

24. Point out just what is the essential difference, if any, between masculine and feminine influence in ethical training.

25. Give a number of definite concrete instances showing that the interests of the individual and of the group are or are not identical.

26. Give a number of concrete instances showing that the *ego* does or does not act for the approval of the *alter* and for nothing else.

27. Discuss the principle involved in the following incident: —

Not long ago I smiled at a boy of nine, a perfect stranger, who, sitting near me in a public place, was gazing at me ; and he immediately asked me if I would have some candy which he had in his pocket.

28. Discuss the following question, asked by a minister of the gospel: —

Do not all men have the feeling that if they help humanity in this life, they will be rewarded in the future life, — men who make little pretense to religion, but who in their inner consciousness rely on their good deeds to save them?

29. What principle of ethical development is involved in the following observation of a police captain: —

A boy left to run the streets frequently has no conscience regarding stealing, telling lies, and playing truant ; but with his fellow companions in crime he will be honest and sympathetic?

30. Discuss the following question asked by a school principal: —

Do not religious teachers sometimes go too far in their efforts to make the bad boy good? Is it not the fault of these teachers that they do not make the right kind of an appeal to individuals?

31. Is it true that a considerable proportion of minister's children speak disrespectfully of religious ceremonies, such as "long prayers," "heavy sermons," and the like? Why should they feel this disrespect?

32. What is the ethical value in the child's development of having pets to play with and to care for? Do those who care for animals on the farm have keener ethical sentiments, speaking generally, than those who have no such experiences? Do those who cultivate plants receive ethical benefit from their care and culture? Is there any ethical value to be derived from taking care of delicate, expensive china or books or furniture? In discussing these questions take pains to avoid being unduly influenced by conventional beliefs in respect to them.

33. Discuss "graft" from the point of view of the identity of the interests of the *ego* and the *alter*. Describe specific cases of "graft" in considering this problem.

34. Do punishments for evil deeds make a more lasting impression on a child than rewards and praise for good deeds? Work this out in respect to your own development.

35. To what extent is the child's early sense of right based upon what is pleasure to himself? Is it different in maturity? In how far does the child think that is wrong which is hostile to his personal interests? Is it different in maturity?

36. Describe the ethical attitudes of children who give some of their possessions to their playmates, and soon cry for them again. Do adults ever exhibit such an attitude as this?

37. Which is it, harmful or otherwise for teachers and parents to cultivate in children the tendency to tell everything in their experience?

38. Discuss the principle involved in the following incident: —

My little niece, nearly six years old, visited me during Christmas vacation. She had been told by her mother to say "thank you" when helped at the table. She was very careful to do so during the first meal; but at the second meal she neglected to do so. Her aunt noticed it, and showed her disapproval, whereupon the little girl said, "Well, I see M. (an older member of the family) does not say 'thank you,' and why should I?"

39. Does the child continue to think that inanimate things have feelings after he discovers that they do not react to him as persons do? Give the evidence upon which your answer is based.

40. When does the child first show that he distinguishes between the kinds and degrees of feeling shown by "dumb brutes" as contrasted with persons?

41. Do people ever reach a point where they act without regard to how the *alter* may feel toward them and their deeds? If so, endeavor to account for their peculiar attitudes. What experiences have they had which have developed this attitude?

42. A correspondent says: —

I have observed that in every family of three or four children or more, some one is more generous and thoughtful than the others. This is almost always the oldest child. The youngest is usually the least thoughtful of the welfare of others, generally caring only for his own pleasure.

Will this proposition hold for the typical family? Discuss the entire matter, producing concrete evidence in support of whatever position you take, and giving an explanation therefor.

43. "Children often tell falsehoods so that they may not forfeit the good opinion of some friend." Why do not all children prevaricate under similar conditions?

44. Discuss the following: "Cooley states that the *ego* always acts with a view to securing approval of the *alter*, and hence he is not selfish. But is not this a selfish attitude?"

45. Is there any difference, from the child's point of view, between a so-called altruistic act, when it secures him pleasure, and a so-called selfish act, when it also secures him pleasure? If there is a difference, how has it become established?

46. Would an act ever be considered right or wrong if it were not for the reaction of the *alter?* Work the problem out in detail.

47. Respond to the following inquiry of a mother: —

If the child's experiences teach him that altruistic action will promote his interest, is he not thereby educating himself in selfishness?

48. Comment on the following instance of apparent altruistic action: —

I have frequently seen a child of about two and one half years of age offer his doll or other toy to a playmate, when he was not looking for any reward from the one whose good-will he apparently desired to have.

49. Comment on the ethical significance of the following: —

A number of children, my own among the number, were playing on the banks of a creek, when one child of six years of age fell into the water. His brother, a little older than himself, at once went to his rescue, losing his own life thereby. Does this not show that a child may feel the needs of the *alter* are greater than his own?

50. Explain the following case: —

I had a high-school pupil who could not adapt himself to his environment in school, and who at all times imagined himself imposed on by his fellows and his teachers. He was bright in his work, but did grudgingly whatever he was asked to do.

IV. JUSTICE

1. Make out a list of all the conditions under which you believe you are entitled to claim as your own any object you now possess, or any object you may acquire henceforth. Indicate any changes that have taken place in your own conception of the right of possession of property or objects of any sort? Why have you changed your views on this subject?

2. Have you had any conflict with the representatives of government in your community regarding the question of ownership of personal or real property? Have you known of others who have had such a conflict? If so, present the point of view of each party to the controversy, and show why there should be a difference of opinion.

3. Have you known of children who have learned to "take their turn," and respect the rights of others, without being resisted in their aggressions? How have such children gained their notions of "fair play," of the "rights of others," and the like?

4. Have you ever known of a person, whether child, youth, or adult, who did not have to be resisted in respect to any of his desires? If so, try to trace the developmental history of such a person, in the effort to discover what experiences he had that enabled him to get on without arousing opposition on the part of any one.

5. Think over the people whom you know best (including yourself): are those who most easily awaken opposition in their associates of greater service to their fellows than those who awaken but little resistance to their advances? Are political, religious, educational, moral, and other reformers resisted in their efforts to secure change in existing practices. Why?

6. Can one "do things" in the world without arousing antagonism on the part of those who are affected thereby? If so, show how, by presenting concrete examples of persons who have succeeded in this; and describe their methods.

7. Study a group of children of eight or nine years of age at play; note whether the spirit of justice prevails in the group as a whole, and among individual members. Give in detail the concrete evidence upon which your answer is based. Repeat these observations upon groups (*a*) of boys twelve or thirteen years of age; (*b*) of girls of the same age; (*c*) of boys and girls playing together; (*d*) of boys and girls in the high-school period.

8. Write out an account of the experiences in your life that have been most potent in developing the sense of fair play. Take into consideration lessons by parents, teachers, and others, suggestions from books, give-and-take relations with your fellows, the example set you by persons you have admired or respected, the loss of the good-will of your associates through egoistic action, and the like. Are you still in a learning attitude in regard to fair play? What kinds of experience are having an influence for good upon you?

9. Are adults more ready in insisting that burdens should be equalized than that benefits should be? Is the typical college professor, say, apt to complain when the salary of his colleagues is increased while his own remains stationary, while he is quite satisfied when he receives a "raise" without any one else being favored? Have you known adults who would "make a great fuss" if they were compelled to shovel off their walks the first thing in the morning, while some one else on the street left his snow on half a day, but who would try to justify their action when they themselves left their snow lying while others cleaned the walks promptly? Discuss the principle in respect to a number of the common activities of daily life.

10. Have you observed any cases like the following: — "My daughter was a child who seemed to make all her social adjustments without conflicts. No matter what her environment was on any occasion, she adjusted herself to it without friction." Is it probable that this testimony from a mother must be discounted a good deal? Why?

11. Comment on the following from the standpoint of the development of the sense of responsibility: —

I know a young boy who unintentionally shot and killed his playmate, and who, although fully exonerated by all concerned, was so overwhelmed because of his act that he ended by taking his own life. He seemed to be a normal boy. Why did he not excuse himself because of his innocence, so far as motive was concerned?

12. At what period in their development do children insist most strongly on their own rights? Does the boy insist upon his rights more strenuously than the girl? In respect to what matters or situations do children of different ages demand that their rights be respected?

13. Have you known individuals who had apparently reached the stage when they could view the interests of the self impartially, and deal with it as strictly as with the *alter?* Describe the attitudes of such an individual in some critical social situation involving conflict between the *ego* and the *alter.*

14. "Justice demands that every person should receive pleasure and pain according to his deserts." Does the conception that the *ego* should receive pain according to his deserts develop *pari passu* with the idea that the *alter* should receive pleasure according to his deserts, and *vice versa?*

15. Have you known of people with whom the conception of equality of rights and responsibilities had extended beyond the members of any class, so that it embraced all people?

16. Discuss this question: —

Is not the sense of justice somewhat perverted in persons who profess to grant to others social and other liberties of action which they would not condone in themselves?

17. Why are some children so slow in learning that they may not infringe upon the rights of others, while other children learn this lesson quite readily? Discuss this question by describing the training which individuals, illustrating these different types, have had.

18. Is the sense of justice in a group of boys largely influenced by the relative physical strength of its individual members? Is it true that "what might seem fairly just conduct in the case of the strongest member of the group may not be so considered in the case of a weaker member?"

19. Do we require the genius to observe principles of justice to the same extent that we do mediocre people? Or do we as a rule feel that unusual ability entitles one to unusual rewards and liberties? In the same way, do we excuse men in high places for offenses against rules of fair play, when we would condemn ordinary men for similar offenses? Discuss this whole matter in all its aspects.

20. Comment on the experience of a teacher, who writes as follows: —

I spent one year without success trying to get a boy fourteen years old, who insisted upon doing all the reciting, running on every errand, and the like, to see that he was not fair to his classmates. Reasoning did not help him. What method should I have adopted in dealing with him?

21. Most of our bad boys are mean because society thinks they are so. The boys feel they can be no worse in our estimation by their doing their very worst. As they say, "we have the name, we may as well have the game."

This is a rather popular sentiment these days. It is given expression in one form or another in books and articles, and on the platform. Take some specific cases of "meanness" in boys, and discuss them from the point of view of the above statement.

22. Does the fact that young girls when playing with boys often condemn the latter for acts of injustice show that they develop the sense of justice earlier than boys do? What does it show? Does the fact hold for boys and girls of all ages? Does it hold for men and women?

23. To what extent do grown people overestimate their own needs and merits when dealing with children? Give concrete cases to illustrate your opinion.

24. Comment on the principle involved in this testimony from a teacher: —

Does a child really ever take pleasure in seeing another punished, even if that other has hurt him? It seems to me he is really sorry for the other, and ashamed of having told on him, and uncomfortable down in his heart. He often seems to try to draw the displeasure of

the parent on the other children, yet cries or acts ashamed while the punishment is going on. I have heard my little sister say, when her younger brother was being punished because of some injury done her, — "Well, of course you don't need to hit him *hard*."

25. Discuss the following statements in the light of your own first-hand observations: —

It seems to me that the child does not always side with the one in need of help. In a group of children the victorious combatant is usually admired and followed. This is perhaps more true with girls in their quarrels than with boys. I have seen little girls, a lot of them, all "pick on" one of their number, refuse to play with her, send her home, or refuse her admittance into their secrets or their club. Such a child will go away an outcast, crying and almost entirely without sympathy, while her quondam friends will cluster around their new leader.

26. Will boys favor a stronger and more skillful fighter in a combat just because he is stronger and more effective? Will they ridicule and despise a weaker one?

27. In a debating contest, will the sympathy of the onlookers be with the stronger or the weaker ones? How is it in a tennis contest, say?

28. In a prize fight, are the sympathies of the crowd with the weak or the strong combatant? On which side are the newspapers usually?

29. In a contest between a teacher and a pupil, supposing the latter to be the weaker one, and deserving of discipline, with whom will a school sympathize?

30. When a teacher finds it necessary to administer punishment in correction of the faults of some of his pupils, how can he best retain the confidence of the innocent pupils, and cause them to side with him as against the offenders, and thus make his discipline all the more effective? Under what conditions will a teacher arouse the hostile feeling of his school when he chastises a malefactor?

31. Looking at the matter from the standpoint of developing the sentiment of justice in pupils, how far should they be graded in their work on the basis of actual results, and how far on the basis of earnestness and application in the performance of their tasks?

32. Suggest some question, problem, or exercise in each of the following subjects, by means of which a teacher could give positive instruction in property rights: numbers; reading; writing; history; geography; manual training.

33. In certain colleges, there are laid down rigid detailed rules designed to regulate the conduct of students in their relations toward one another and toward the faculty. In other colleges, no rules are insisted upon; but the general sentiment, "Be a gentleman, play fair in all you do," is made prominent on all occasions. Which of these methods is best adapted to develop the spirit of justice among students? Does it make any difference whether the students are in the elementary school, the high school, or the college?

34. Why is it that students who have a sense of fair play in respect to many of their relations with people often think it entirely legitimate to take advantage of an instructor whenever they get the chance? Mention some forms of unfair play indorsed in typical colleges.

35. Discuss the relative value of games and plays out of doors, as contrasted with classroom work in formal studies, in developing effectively the sentiment of justice.

36. Make out a list of games and plays that are especially useful in developing the sentiment of justice.

37. Make out a list of five successful and five unsuccessful cases of school discipline which you have observed. Be careful to diagnose every case so that the vital factors in each may be appreciated. Also, keep in mind that discipline is successful only when it seems to onlookers as fair and just, so that it secures their approval.

38. Describe in detail a successful case of discipline of a ringleader of a group, who has taken a stand against the authority of the home or the school, and who has the backing of all his followers.

39. Give concrete instances to illustrate the following, if it presents a typical case: —

Is it not often true that a bully will not be resisted in any way by the group because of the fear of the members that they will be "drubbed" if they "squeal"? I have found this to be true with school children. In a number of cases the teacher had to discover through observation for himself that there was a bully on the school grounds. There was not a whimper from the pupils who were being bullied.

40. Discuss the principle illustrated in the following: —

I have noticed that when a teacher punishes little children in school, the pupils of the upper grades will invariably condemn him for his "cruelty," until their point of view is changed by leading them to see the justice of and the necessity for the punishment.

Have you observed this to be a fact?

41. Can the testimony of children in regard to the conduct of others with whom they are in conflict ever be relied upon?

42. Is the following experience of a truancy officer typical of situations presented in the home and the school? If so, describe concrete cases: —

In truancy cases, I have often found the only excuse offered to be, "the other boys did" so and so. An effort is usually made to shift the blame; and yet the offenders are usually ready to admit that they have done wrong. However, when committing the offense they feel perfectly justified in doing so, because others have offended.

43. Does a child in school who receives low grades usually think the teacher has a grudge against him? Why? Does the principle hold for students in the high school? in the college? If the teacher is just, how can the pupil be made to appreciate it? To what extent do teachers allow personal likes or dislikes to influence their marking of pupils?

44. What is the excuse usually given by a child who has been unjust to another? What is the excuse given by a youth? by an adult? What principles of social development are illustrated by your answers?

45. Is it of advantage in games among children to have adult umpires, who will insist upon a rigid observance of rules?

46. Are American children given "their own way" too largely in their relations with their elders? What factors must be taken into account in answering this question? Do people generally consider all these factors in giving their opinions?

47. Have you observed that a keen sense of justice in parents is reflected in their children? Consider whether the children of lawyers and judges are distinguished for their tendency to play fair with their fellows. Are the children of ministers fairer than other children in their relations with their associates? How is it with the children of professors in college?

48. In respect to this matter of fair play, have you noticed any characteristic traits in the children of merchants? of professional gamblers? Take a number of adults you know intimately (yourself included), rank them according to their tendency to give a "square deal" to every one, and then see whether there is any significant trend in regard to their parentage.

V. RESPECT

1. Mention, by pseudonym, the five most respected people in the community with which you are best acquainted, and indicate the traits, deeds, or circumstances which have won them the respect of their associates.

2. Mention, by pseudonym, persons whom you know who have once had the respect of the people in their communities, but who have now forfeited it. Why have their associates "lost confidence" in them?

3. How do the people you know intimately manifest their respect for any one? How do they show their lack of respect for a person? Is there a characteristic way of showing respect, or the lack of it, for men as contrasted with women?

4. Can the attitude of respect be assumed toward a young child? Why? Toward an adolescent? Why?

5. Are certain classes of persons, as teachers and ministers, respected in most communities as a matter of course? Why? Are they shown disrespect in certain communities? Why? Is a change taking place in regard to this matter in society at large? Mention specific instances to illustrate your view.

6. What classes of persons, if any, are as a matter of course shown disrespect by society at large? Why? Are there some classes toward whom society at large is neutral? If so, explain.

7. What type of a person will be most highly respected in a college community? in a seaside resort? in a frontier town? in a small New England village? in a farming community? in a metropolis? in a capital city? in a slum district?

8. Do the children of native-born German parents show greater respect as a rule for their teachers in our public schools than do the children of native-born American parents? How is it with the children of native-born Irish, Swedish, English, and Italian parents?

9. How can one distinguish between genuine respect in a child's relations with people and mere conventional politeness which is only "skin deep"?

10. Describe a case of "natural" respect on the part of a child for a parent or a teacher or a minister. Be careful to distinguish between respect, and fear or admiration or conventionality. If you have observed a case of this sort, give an account of the conditions or experiences which developed the attitude of respect in the child.

11. Describe the attitudes of any person you know who demands of the self observance of a higher ethical code than is demanded of the *alter*.

12. In reference to what sort of situations have you observed that shame is first manifested by children? Speak also of humiliation, remorse, chagrin, and the like. Do the situations in which these attitudes are assumed change with

development? Work out the developmental history of several of these attitudes.

13. What sort of accusations will a typical boy of ten resent, and how will he resent them? Does it make a difference whether the boy lives in the city or in the country? in the slum or on the boulevards? Discuss the principle as it applies to girls of ten; to boys and girls of fifteen; of twenty.

14. With respect to what qualities does a boy of fifteen wish to have a good reputation? A young man of twenty-one? A man of forty? A girl of eighteen? A woman of twenty-five? Does it make a difference whether the individual lives in the city or in the country? Whether he is engaged in public or only in private enterprises? Whether he has a distinguished or only a commonplace ancestry? In your discussion take account of all the varieties of good reputations which the people you know best desire, and endeavor to account for the choice in each case.

15. What sort of an experience will cause the boy of twelve, say, whom you know best to lose his self-respect? The boy of eighteen? The girl of twelve? The girl of sixteen? How is the loss of self-respect in each case manifested? Describe the effect of such a condition upon the individual's joyousness, his forcefulness, and even his health, if you can.

16. Bring before your attention a boy whom you were able to follow closely in his development through the adolescent period. If you have not been fortunate enough to have had this experience, talk with an intelligent parent who can speak accurately of the principal changes which occurred in his boy's development. Then write out an account of the effect upon the boy's thought of himself when he became genuinely interested in some girl. In the same way indicate the influence upon a girl of adolescent interest in some boy.

17. Is there a growing tendency in America to celebrate in a public way individuals who serve their fellows effect-

ively as teachers, or investigators, or ministers of the gospel, or physicians, or lawmakers? If you think so, give concrete instances in proof of your view.

18. Discuss the following question from a school principal: —

Has the custom of showing great respect for the clergy developed bad national traits in some countries? I am sure I have observed this in dealing with the children of foreign peoples.

19. Give your opinion in response to these questions: —

A person has great regard for the opinions of others of *his class*, and he tries to live up to the standards of his class. Then a high regard for the opinions of those of a class above one tends to lift one out of the class he is in at the time, does it not? And conversely, the loss of respect for the standards of one's class, with a growing regard for the standards of those below one, tends to put the individual in this lower class, does it not?

20. Give concrete cases of the way in which a public-school pupil may be taught respect for what society has considered necessary for its welfare.

21. Why do ancient institutions often secure obedience and respect from many persons, while at heart they may be in a rebellious attitude toward them? Discuss the question by describing concrete instances illustrating the principle.

22. Do clean linen, polished shoes, etc., develop respect for one's self? or does the development of respect for self lead to attention to personal appearance, in the effort to observe community standards?

23. Granted that genuine self-respect does not develop until adolescence; what is the bearing of this fact upon the methods of controlling children in the fifth grade, say? What motives for good conduct can be appealed to in the case of a boy or girl who lacks self-respect?

24. Have you observed that children often have deep affection for a person, but no marked respect for him? Have you observed the reverse of this? Show why the attitudes of affection and respect are not necessarily assumed toward one and the same individual.

25. Take the case of a man who is not a church attendant, but who is highly respected by the people among whom he lives on account of his honesty in business or politics, his unusual ability, his patriotism, his charitable tendencies, or the like; would he receive still greater public esteem if he should become a regular attendant upon religious services? Would it make a difference in what community he lived? Why?

26. What classes of persons, if any, once well thought of in this country are now rapidly losing the respect which has been accorded them? Be specific in your discussion, and give reasons.

27. Do you think it would be of service to the cause of education in this country if medals were given to unusually successful teachers? Why are honorary degrees given to college presidents, distinguished scholars, and others?

28. To what extent must a man merit respect in order to be popular with a college community? with the loafers in a saloon? with a group of clergymen? with a high-school fraternity?

29. If it is true that a boy of seven does not care greatly for a reputation for gentleness, kindness, goodness, and the like, what can be said of prevailing methods of ethical training in the Sunday school, and perhaps even in the secular school? Be specific in your discussion.

30. What is the real attitude of the individual described in the following?

I know a child only four years old who shows humiliation, if I am not mistaken. She will be "showing off," perhaps to an unpleasant extent, and will seem perfectly unconscious of the fact that every one about her is disapproving of her. Finally, it seems to dawn upon her, and she will begin to act uncomfortable and angry, and will try to keep from crying. But in the end she will run from the room, crying loudly, and pretending all the while that she is angry at a particular person for something he had no idea of doing.

31. Comment on this testimony:—

I know a child who, when reprimanded by a certain person, will, on

seeing that person again, sometimes run away from her, or walk past her, trying not to look at her, yet really looking at her out of the corner of her eye. Does n't this indicate a remembrance of shame, or is it simply fear, or dislike of the person?

32. If a group of children could be brought up to adolescence free from any traditional conventions, would they then develop a system of conventions of their own? Discuss the principle involved.

33. Have you observed that those adults who as children were most obeisant and respectful toward their elders are now distinguished among their fellows for their respect for existing institutions, and persons in places of authority, civic or religious? Have you observed that the opposite is true? Produce some reliable evidence relating to this matter.

34. Discuss the propriety and the effectiveness of asking children between the ages of three and ten if they are not ashamed of their soiled hands, torn clothing, and the like. Would your answer be different if in the place of "soiled hands," etc., there should be substituted lying, foul speech, fighting, and so on? Why?

35. For how many of your teachers in the elementary and the high school did you have genuine respect? What qualities inspired this respect in each case? What was lacking in the teachers whom you did not respect?

36. Do pupils in school to-day respect their teachers as fully as they did in an older day? Present the evidence upon which your opinion is based. If there is less or more respect now than formerly, account for the change.

37. Are learned men respected in America to-day as fervently as they were formerly? Why? What sort of wisdom is most highly esteemed among us? Would you venture to express your opinion on how Solomon would be regarded to-day if he lived in Chicago? in Boston? in Seattle? in Butte? in Madison? in Paris? in Berlin? in Rome? in London? in Algiers? in Cairo? How would

Plato be regarded? Aristotle? Bacon? Pasteur? Thomas Aquinas? Galileo? Mahomet? Raphael? Beethoven? Shakespeare? Marshall Field? Jefferson? Roosevelt? Carnegie?

38. Just what is the content and significance of the oft-heard phrases: "My children like their teacher, and will do anything for him"; and "All the pupils hate the teacher, and he can't get them to do anything."

39. Make out a list of ten historical personages who have most deeply awakened your enthusiastic admiration, and indicate the qualities in each that have appealed to you. In the same manner make out a list of the characters in fiction who have left the most lasting impression on you.

40. In American history, what men and women as a rule win the good-will and devotion of pupils in the elementary school? Why? in the high school? Why? Are there men and women described in all the histories who do not appeal to boys and girls of any age? If so, explain.

41. According to your observations, do American parents as a rule show their children as much respect as the children show them? Is there a sentiment in the community you know best to the effect that children should be respected? If not, why not?

42. Is it well to teach the young to respect and obey those in authority without questioning whether they merit it? Why do people insist upon obedience to established authority, right or wrong?

43. Can a child be taught to show respect for a particular office in church or state without feeling respect for the individual who occupies the office? Is such an attitude common among us? Is it of service? How?

44. Comment as you think appropriate on the following: —

I always dreaded to visit my sister's home when her boy, aged six years, was around. His appearance when he would come in from play irritated her. When he went to school all she thought of was that he should have clean clothes, a clean face, and clean hands. Many is the time I have heard her say, "He 'll be clean if he is n't anything else."

Now he is ten years old ; and truly the first thing he will say when he meets a new acquaintance is something concerning cleanliness or appearance. When speaking of boys in his grade at school he refers to their dirty face or torn shirt, as though these were the greatest evils imaginable.

45. Respond to this question, asked by a university student : —

I occasionally see dishonest practices when I am taking an examination. I always feel extremely indignant, and never afterwards have I the same respect for the ones whom I know to have been guilty. Is this not opposed to the principle that one holds himself on a higher standard than he does his fellows ?

46. Respond to the following question : —

When I was eight years old my mother used to have me do a certain amount of knitting every day. One day I was obstinate, and would not do my task. About seven o'clock of that day my mother was taken violently ill, and for hours was in a critical condition. I was so overcome with what I call remorse that, in spite of all the excitement attendant upon such an occasion, I took my work and knitted the required number of rounds late at night. If my feeling was not remorse, what should it be called ?

VI. DOCILITY

1. Observe a group of boys in any community, and note what traits the leader possesses which give him his prestige. Note whether he is a teacher of the rest of the group, and if so what activities he attempts to have his followers learn. Then discuss your observations in the light of the principles of docility. Make similar observations with respect to groups of girls, and note any difference between them and boys in the things they learn readily from a leader.

2. Toward what sort of situations is the typical city boy of seven most docile ? of fifteen ? of twenty-one ? Does it make a difference whether he lives in the slums or on the boulevards ? Why ? Answer these questions with respect to the typical city girl.

3. Toward what sort of situations is a typical country boy of seven most docile ? of sixteen ? of twenty-one ? Does it

make any difference whether he is a "hired hand" or the son of a well-to-do farmer?

4. Work out with all the care possible this question: What are the essential differences in docility between children of (*a*) American parents; (*b*) Irish parents; (*c*) German parents; (*d*) English parents; (*e*) Italian parents; (*f*) Scandinavian parents?

5. Prepare a biographical sketch, mentioning marked epochs in your development when you (*a*) resisted the learning of conventions imposed on you by teachers and parents; and (*b*) persisted in learning things which were distasteful to those in authority over you.

6. Try to find out whether the distinguished men and women you know had the reputation of being docile as children. Or were they rebellious, as a rule, toward the conventions in force about them?

7. In many schoolrooms, and in many homes also, one may frequently hear complaints like the following: "Why don't you sit still, as I told you to do?" "Why do you communicate when I told you to attend to your own affairs?" "Why don't you study your lessons, as I told you to do?" and so on *ad libitum*. Take up each of these complaints, and others like them, and show why the typical child is not docile in respect to the matter urged upon him.

8. In what proportion of the homes you know intimately do the children readily accept the view of the parent in respect to (*a*) "manners" in the home and outside; (*b*) the choice of companions; (*c*) indulgence in sweetmeats, etc.; (*d*) application to studies; (*e*) refraining from certain plays and games, as swimming, skating, and the like? Describe in detail the life in a home where the children are docile in the ways indicated.

9. Have you known of boys from fourteen to twenty who have "run away from home"? If so, give in detail the causes which led to the estrangement of the boy and his parents.

10. Are fathers and their adolescent sons usually on

good terms with one another? Are mothers and their adolescent daughters usually confidential friends? Work out in detail the social principles involved in these questions.

11. Do parents in rural districts get on more happily or less happily with their adolescent sons and daughters than parents in the city? Why?

12. Describe the appearance, actions, speech, and so on of a child conforming to some convention which he resents, but which is forced on him. Do girls accept the inevitable in this respect with less difficulty than boys?

13. Make out a list of familiar conventions which you have heard boys of ten ridicule? Do girls ridicule the same things? What do boys of eighteen ridicule? Girls of eighteen? What is the method of ridiculing a convention at the age of ten? of fifteen? of twenty?

14. Do high-school students conform more easily than college students to the rules laid down by their teachers? Do students in both sorts of institutions often feel that the faculty is unreasonable in its demands? Why do students so often think they should be granted more liberties than are usually allowed them?

15. At what age do students most readily look upon their instructors as models to be emulated in all ways? Is there a difference between boys and girls in this respect? Is it the same in the city as in the country?

16. Is there anything taught in the kindergarten toward which the typical child of five is naturally in a docile, assimilative attitude? Would he of his own accord ask the kindergartner to teach him any of the things in her regular programmes? What is the situation in the typical primary school? in the high school? in the college?

17. Do the teachers you know, whether in the elementary school, the high school, or the college, suggest in their speech and manner that they are leading groups of devoted followers? or that they are urging forward disinterested loiterers? Comment on the situation as you see it.

18. Is the attitude of the high-school student toward his work more cordial or less cordial than that of the elementary-school pupil toward his tasks? How is it in the college? Are graduate students in a more assimilative frame of mind than undergraduates? Why?

19. To what extent in your life at the present time do you imitate the people about you? Do you consciously imitate any one? Why?

20. Looking over your developmental career, what seems to you to have been the period when you learned most readily by imitation? What did you learn most freely in this way?

21. Could you tell what proportion of your present views and attitudes are the result of direct imitation? How did you acquire views and attitudes not learned imitatively?

22. Have you been a member of a dramatic club? If so, say whether you gained much of positive value therefrom, and why.

23. Make out a list of the more important dramatizations in which you engaged at one period or another in your developmental career. Describe in some detail what influence these experiences exerted upon your intellectual and emotional development.

24. What types in any community do children of different ages frequently impersonate, — teachers, ministers, policemen, railway engineers, robbers, and the like? Does it make a difference whether the children live in the city or in the country? Why?

25. Is the following instance at all typical? What principle is involved?

A boy aged eight was told several times by his teacher that it was the proper thing for him to lift his hat when he met her on the street. She had also given little morning talks on street manners. One day as she was walking down the street he saw her coming, and rather than not do as she wished, he hurriedly took off his hat and sat on it. Then when she came, he had no hat on, and so did not need to perform the hated act.

26. The following questions are asked by a school superintendent. Give your view in response to them : —

(*a*) Is it not a good plan simply to start children on any and all new activities, and then let them learn by hard knocks the perfected execution thereof, when they can appreciate its value ? (*b*) Are not our educational methods at fault if the docile attitude in which the child enters the kindergarten is abandoned as he goes on ?

27. What attitude does the typical child take toward the following conventions : (*a*) " Dressing up " on Sunday ; (*b*) refraining from games on the Sabbath ; (*c*) Dressing in mourning for the loss of a relative ?

28. " Many of the conventions of modern society stunt the real growth of children." Do you agree with this statement ? Discuss the matter in detail.

29. Name a number of conventions of high-school and college life which tend to preserve docility in pupils, and say why they have this effect.

30. Reply to this question, giving reasons for your answer : —

Does not the wise parent or teacher always make certain that the youth sees the ultimate end or goal toward which his conduct is leading ?

31. Present your view of the problem indicated in the following question : —

Is convention a good thing when it is mere make believe ? Is it not better for children to be spontaneous and natural in childhood, for then will they not be more apt to be the same in adult life ?

32. Are mothers liable to overdo the matter of urging conventions on their boys ? Ask a frank parent the following questions, and report his response. Then give the result of your observations, and present your theories on the general question at issue : —

Do you think if a young boy uses his knife at the table while other members of the family use their forks, he will continue all his days to use his knife unless he is instructed to the contrary ? Will he not change in time without the customary heroic efforts of the mother to reform him ?

33. Ask these questions of a frank teacher, and report his response. Then give the results of your own observations, and present your theories on the general question at issue: —

Is it not many times the teacher's fault that children are not more docile toward the work of the school? True, children often like to play truant; but is n't it possible to keep them interested by introducing manual training and athletics?

34. Is the situation presented in the following testimony met with frequently in high-school or college classrooms?

Is the boy in college who attends simply to please his parents, necessarily hostile to all that goes on in the classroom? I know several cases of boys who try often to appear indifferent, because they think that in so doing they will not be thought to be "sissies" or "grinds," but good fellows. Yet, given a subject which is not above their heads, they will certainly not be hostile.

35. Is the premise on which the following question is based a sound one? If so, explain the phenomenon described: —

If children are reluctant to adopt the conventions of society, why do we see, as we do, the little boy who has just learned the art of doffing his cap eager to do it upon every possible occasion?

36. Can one teach a child that he should be agreeable to one whom he detests, and at the same time make him feel that he is not playing a "sneaky game"?

37. What effect would it have on the child's social development if he were allowed to observe only the conventions which suited his fancy at any time? Have you known persons who have had this experience? If so, describe their social attitudes in maturity.

38. Does the typical child derive more pleasure from giving information than from receiving it? Is the same true with boys as with girls? What is the evidence bearing on this point? Do children differ in this regard? Be specific in your response.

39. Can a child of eight, say, be made to understand why he should be held for clear, accurate work in all he

does, and not allowed to be inaccurate and superficial? How is it with a child of twelve? of eighteen?

40. Discuss the following: —

Is it the result of lack of training in social conventions that some persons find it very difficult to appear friendly when they do not feel that way?

41. Are college students more ready than kindergarten children to master completely the technic of any new art before they begin to practice it?

42. Under what conditions will the typical child willingly apply himself to the mastery of the technic of instrumental music? of written language? Should he be allowed to execute in either of these ways before he has gained some facility in the use of the correct technic? Apply the principles to other arts the child must learn.

VII. RESENTMENT

1. According to your observations, which children from two to five years of age find it hardest to adjust themselves to the order of things about them, — those in the homes of the rich or those in the homes of the poor? Why?

2. Observe young children in a home where both the father and the mother are hard-working in the effort to earn daily bread. Are these children in conflict with their parents and others much of the time? Why?

3. Is it a disadvantage in the training of a child that his parents must work for their living, provided they are temperate, and not overpowered by their labor? Discuss the matter in detail.

4. Do you ever in your present reactions upon the world feel resentment toward *things?* Or when matters do not go right, is there always some *person* who is at fault, as it seems to you?

5. Describe cases of intense anger you have observed in (*a*) a child one year old; (*b*) a boy five years of age;

(*c*) a girl of the same age; (*d*) a boy of eighteen and a girl of the same age; (*e*) a mature man and woman.

6. Do you ever, at your present stage of development, become angry at a person who has not intentionally done you harm, or who has not willfully neglected to do his duty by you?

7. Has your view of what ought to be resented in the people with whom you have relations changed as you have developed. Be specific and detailed in your answer.

8. Have you observed that people who never get angry at others are imposed upon by their fellows? Are irascible persons aggressed upon less than docile persons? How is it with children of different ages?

9. In the groups of which you are a member, are there certain persons who "cannot bear to be in one another's presence"? Why? Does it weaken or strengthen their antipathy to be thrown together frequently? Is it the same way in childhood and youth?

10. Describe a case of revenge in childhood which you have observed. What were the ages of the children concerned? How long an interval was there between the injury done and the revengeful deed?

11. Describe any case of long enduring anger against a playfellow which you have observed in childhood. What occasioned the anger? How did the injured child manifest his feeling? Describe such a case in youth; in maturity. How were these cases distinguished one from another?

12. Can you tell when a person is *angry* as contrasted with *indignant?* How?

13. Describe the case of indignation which you have observed earliest in childhood or youth. What occasioned this attitude? How was it expressed?

14. In your own resentful attitudes at your present stage of development, which state of mind is predominant, anger or indignation? What situations now most easily and frequently arouse resentful attitudes in you? Do you differ in this respect from your associates whom you know best?

15. Describe concrete cases of jealousy you have observed in childhood, and say what occasioned them. Describe such cases in youth; in maturity. What are the essential differences in these cases?

16. Mention in detail an instance you have observed wherein jealousy proved to be of service to the one who expressed it. Why? Mention an instance wherein it proved to be a disadvantage. Why? On the whole, is the emotion of service in human life?

17. Is jealousy predominantly a masculine or a feminine trait in childhood? in youth? in maturity?

18. In the community you know best, what are the principal causes of jealousy among the people? What classes of persons in the said community are most jealous of one another? Why?

19. Does jealousy prevail more generally in the city than in the country? Why? Does it play a larger part in a graded city school than in an ungraded rural school? Why?

20. Is jealousy more active among the brighter pupils of a school than among the duller ones? Among those who are physically strong than among those who are physically weak?

21. Do the poor people you know assume a hostile attitude toward those who have more of this world's goods than themselves? Do those who have but little schooling ridicule those who are educated? Be specific in your discussion.

22. Have you heard rough persons make fun of those who have the reputation of being "refined" in speech or manner? If so, what was the motive behind their action?

23. Have you known of children who inflicted pain upon themselves in order to make a parent or teacher or other person suffer? If so, describe the case in detail, and say whether it is at all typical? Have you known grown people to do anything of this sort?

24. Observe a child reared apart from other children, and under conditions where he is given practically everything he desires. Does he manifest the jealous attitude? If so, under what circumstances? Will jealousy fail to appear unless the child is in competition with other children?

25. Have you known of any instance in which jealousy apparently failed to appear until the adolescent period was reached? Describe in detail what circumstances seemed first to call it forth.

26. What influence, if any, does school education have on the attitude of jealousy? Present some very definite concrete evidence illustrating the principle in question here.

27. To what extent is an adult's "temperament" due to repression or ready expression of angry states during his developing years?

28. Do parents and teachers as a rule bestow favors on a child as liberally when he is "good" as when he assumes an angry or belligerent or bullying attitude? Mention definite concrete details in support of your view. What inferences of social significance can be drawn from your answer to the above question?

29. Are bright, active individuals more likely than those of a duller nature to be in conflict much of the time with the people with whom they have vital relations? Why?

30. Would you prophesy a happy or an unhappy future for a boy of seven who is distinguished because of his tendency to resent any trespassing upon what he fancies are his rights? Contrast with this type the one that rarely offers opposition to the aggression of playmates or others. In discussing these cases, take into account the relative success in life of adults of these different types.

31. If a child should always express his anger "on the spot," would he develop attitudes of hatred and revenge? Why?

32. "The expression of anger in childhood is essential

to the best physical development of the individual." Discuss this proposition, consulting with a physician or an intelligent parent, if you are not yourself an authority in respect to this matter.

33. The following testimony is given by an observant mother. Is the case described a typical one? Discuss it in all its bearings: —

My daughter at the age of four years had a habit when angry of shutting herself up in a vacant room, throwing herself on the floor, and kicking and screaming as a vent to her overcharged feelings. What in her aroused the desire to be alone on these occasions?

34. Comment on the following observation of a student: —

Do the following remarks by students illustrate the attitude of jealousy? "That fellow is a shark, but he is awfully queer"; "She is pretty, but she has no brains." I have heard many such remarks during my stay in ——. One fellow said recently he was thankful he was just a common "bonehead." Are these persons not magnifying imperfections in their associates, in order to give vent to the feeling of jealousy?

35. Get all the accurate information you can regarding the attitudes which twins assume toward each other. Do they resent the aggressions of one another? Do they, if the occasion arises, manifest jealousy of one another? If you find twins an exception to the rule in regard to these matters, what explanation can you offer therefor?

36. What ordinarily is the true attitude of a child of five when he says to a playmate, "I hate you." How is it with a boy of ten? with a girl of this age? with a youth of either sex at eighteen?

37. Does jealousy exist among distinguished teachers? lawyers? ministers? between great universities? small colleges appealing to the same clientele? state normal schools in any one state? churches in any small city? Why, in each case?

38. It is generally acknowledged that President Lincoln bore no resentment toward his enemies, personal or political,

but bestowed favors on them as liberally as on his friends. On the other hand, some reformers apparently show intense resentment toward those who oppose their policies, or who do not realize their ideals of civic virtue. Try (1) to account for the differences between these men; (2) to determine which attitude proved to be most effective in "getting things done" readily and effectively.

VIII. AGGRESSION

1. Are girls of three normally as combative as boys of this age? In groups of young boys and girls, who are the aggressors, the former or the latter? How is it at the age of ten?

2. Among the boys in a city public school, do those from the avenues and the boulevards aggress upon those from the alleys? Or is it the other way around?

3. Do the German boys as a class encroach upon the others? How is it with the Irish boys? the American boys? the Scandinavian boys?

4. Do the same tendencies prevail among the girls as among the boys?

5. In the rural school, do the sons of well-to-do farmers "lord it over" the sons of day laborers? Or is it the other way around? How is it among the girls?

6. What situations will lead to a fight among the boys in a city public school? in a rural school? Describe group fights you have observed, pointing out the causes as fully as possible.

7. Do the boys who secure the highest marks in school have the reputation of being the aggressors in the group? Or do the dullards carry off the honors in this respect? Ask this question of (*a*) a principal of a high school; (*b*) a principal of an elementary school.

8. In a group of boys of any age, are the physically strongest members the most aggressive? Have you known unusually capable boys in a muscular sense to be noted for

their peace-loving disposition? Does the question of age, nationality, economic status, or locality of residence play a prominent part in reference to this matter?

9. How early have you observed that a group of boys will as a group endeavor to prevent conflicts among their members, or settle them without physical encounter when they arise? Does this tendency develop earlier among city than among country boys? At what age does it manifest itself among girls?

10. Do the boys on the boulevards fight less or more than the boys in the slums? Why? Try to get first-hand evidence on this matter.

11. What is the social significance of the term "a bowery tough"? Are boys born "tough," or are they made so? Discuss the subject in view of definite, concrete types you have known intimately.

12. Describe in detail a case you have observed of group settlement of troubles existing between two or more of its members. Say whether the group, or the contestants themselves, took the initiative in this proceeding, and whether the latter readily accepted the decision of the group. Tell just how the group went about it to determine who was in the right in the contest.

13. Ask the parents of a family of boys from five to fifteen years of age whether they have to take precautions to avoid "scrapping" between them. Find out precisely and in detail what the parents do, and what success they have, in their own estimation.

14. Listen for an hour to the talk of a group of boys of any age, who are not engaged in some interesting activity demanding their full attention, and note what proportion of what they say relates to combat of some kind, either between themselves and their rivals, or between others whom they know at school or elsewhere. Mention the situations they depict, the attitudes they assume, the terms they use, and the like.

15. In the same way listen to the talk of a group of girls, and note in detail how it differs from that of the boys.

16. Just what is the social significance and the social effect of "holding a grudge" against a rival or an associate? Do the children of certain nationalities more than others incline to hold grudges? If so, give the evidence in support of your answer. Is this tendency more marked in the city than in the country?

17. Write out a list of the methods which a boy of the age of five whom you know well employs to tease (*a*) his parents; (*b*) his brothers; (*c*) his sisters; (*d*) his playmates; (*e*) his pets.

18. Write out a similar list for a girl of the age of five.

19. Indicate the favorite ways for tormenting teachers in (*a*) rural schools; (*b*) city graded schools; (*c*) city high schools; (*d*) small colleges; (*e*) universities.

20. Do children ordinarily take pleasure in teasing a cripple? Does it make a difference what the particular character of the disability is, or whether the children live in the city or the country, in the slums or on the boulevards? Be specific in your discussion.

21. Study the cartoons in any daily newspaper with strong partisan affiliations. Does the artist pursue the same method in principle of plaguing his victims as does the boy of ten who teases a fellow by magnifying and ridiculing his peculiarities? May any inference be drawn here regarding group reaction upon individual variations from the type?

22. Describe an adult you know well who is a "great teaser." What are his methods of teasing? Whom does he tease? Why does he do it? How do people react to his teasing? Why?

23. In a high school, are the most aggressive students the most or the least popular with their fellows? with their teachers? Why?

24. Explain why in a college community students resent the attempts of those of their fellows who try to get a

"stand in" with an instructor. How do they show their resentment?

25. What is the real attitude of a college student who at roll-call in his classes answers "here" for an absent classmate? What is the attitude of one who tries "to get even" with an instructor who has given him a low mark which he deserved?

26. Is the following a typical case? Discuss the principle involved: —

I recently observed a group of small boys preparing to snowball some little girls. They seemed to ignore those girls who showed they were not afraid, but they took delight in chasing those who ran away.

27. Discuss the following questions proposed by a school principal: —

(*a*) Do not boys when they have been whipped in a fight by a rival often feel relieved if they in turn can whip some other boy, whether he has done them an injury or not?

(*b*) Do boys who have been punished in school for some misdemeanor feel it for any length of time?

28. Do college students as a body resent the efforts of one of their number to excel in athletics? in debate? in the regular studies? in social activities? How is it with high-school students?

29. Describe an organization for self-government formed spontaneously by boys or girls of any age. What led to such an organization? How long did it last? Was it effective? Say just why in any case.

30. Do girls form self-government associations of any sort more readily than boys? Or is it the other way around? Give reasons, whatever your answer may be.

31. Do ten-year-old boys prefer to govern themselves rather than to be governed by a parent or a principal or a faculty? What is the evidence, *pro* or *con?* How is it with girls of this age? with boys of eighteen? with girls of the latter age?

32. Do ten-year-old children, in the settlement of disputes among themselves, more readily abide by the deci-

sions of a teacher than of a parent? Why? Will they more readily accept the verdict of the teacher than of an older playmate? Why? Does the situation change as the children develop?

33. Is the following a typical case?

I have a little niece aged three, who takes delight in slapping and pinching a quiet, inoffensive neighbor child of about the same age. She seems to do this especially when she is tired or sleepy, or when she has been punished herself.

34. Is the following a typical case?

A boy of mine of three years of age always rushes at his little sister to scratch her face if she in any manner acts contrary to his desires; but she does not retaliate, nor does she seem to desire to do so. Instead, she simply goes to her mother for comfort.

35. Discuss the following: —

Is it not true that well-brought-up children who adopt the language of the slums do it because of their ignorance of its meaning, instead of because they possess a natural inclination to use such speech?

36. Describe instances illustrating the capacity of women to coöperate with one another on a large scale in the attainment of (*a*) economic ends; (*b*) social ends; (*c*) philanthropic ends; (*d*) educational ends; (*e*) hygienic ends.

37. Show, if you can, that coöperative activity among women is developing rapidly in modern society, especially in America.

38. From the standpoint of the development of self-government in group activity, discuss the tendency in college life for the Freshman class to seek the advice and accept the arbitration of the Junior class in their difficulties, and similarly with the Sophomore class and the Seniors.

39. Newsboys and bootblacks are notoriously combative and aggressive. Is it that only boys with these tendencies engage in these undertakings? or is it that their work develops these traits? Discuss the matter in detail.

40. Describe coöperative societies you have known among newsboys and bootblacks. Can boys of this character conduct self-government clubs? Give concrete details.

EXERCISES AND PROBLEMS, PART II

Based on Chapters X–XVII inclusive.

X. FROM A NATIONAL STANDPOINT

1. Which of the people from the Old World who come to live among us are the most ready in adapting themselves effectively to the conditions here? Which of these people are the least adaptable? Why? How do they manifest their lack of adaptability?

2. Are the Italian children in the public schools of a city like New York or Chicago as plastic as the German or Irish or English or Scandinavian children?

3. Are the children of foreign-born parents more ready or less ready than "Yankee" children in taking advantage of new conditions to promote their interests? Give specific examples to illustrate your answer.

4. Are the people who live in rural regions more plastic or less plastic than those born and reared in the city? What is the evidence upon which your answer is based?

5. Show which among the great nations of the Old World is the more progressive, and the probable reason therefor. Give evidence indicating that the United States is or is not leading the nations of the world in sound progress.

6. Show in a concrete way the difference between a plastic, adaptable people, and one that is simply mobile or volatile.

7. Do you know of any section in our country where progress appears to have been arrested? If so, describe the life of the people in such sections, and indicate what has led to such arrest.

8. What in your opinion is the tendency among nations, — to be too conservative or too changeable? Present con-

crete evidence in support of your view. What is the tendency with respect to individuals? Does an individual exhibit different tendencies at different periods in his life?

9. How do the people of means whom you know spend their leisure time? Compare the dwellers in the city, in the town, and in the country in this regard. Is the pursuit of intellectual, æsthetic, and kindred interests increasing or declining in the community in which you were reared? How can you tell?

10. How do the adults in the communities you know best spend their leisure time? Do they have a fondness for reading? If so, what are they most interested in? Give concrete, first-hand evidence in answer to these questions. Then say whether the interests of the grown people in these communities are upbuilding or otherwise. What influence do the schools in these places exert upon the aspirations, amusements, and dominant interests of the people?

11. Is it of advantage in the development of our nation that it is the Mecca of all the ill-adjusted people in the countries of the Old World? Is it of disadvantage to us that the people who come to us are, as a rule, poverty-stricken?

12. Are the following statements applicable to the boys in the communities you know best? If so, what is the reason they do not possess lively interests in art, literature, and music?

In the towns and villages of our country, boys from the age of twelve or thirteen to maturity spend their leisure time largely on the street, or at the railway station, or about the livery stable. They have little or no interest in the public library or the Sunday school, or an art exhibition, and the like.

13. Are the interests of city boys from the age of twelve or thirteen to maturity different from those of boys in small villages or in the country? If so, point out the differences, and express your opinion as to whether the present trend of life among the young in the city is more hopeful or

less hopeful than the tendencies in the towns or in the country.

14. Study the lecture courses offered in the communities you know best, whether in the city, the village, or the country. Find out what lectures have been given during the past few years, and what interest has been manifested by the people in the various lectures. Have the lectures designed to present theoretical or useful knowledge in any field been popular? Have the people insisted upon "entertainments"? Give some accurate, first-hand information relating to this matter, and discuss its significance in respect to the intellectual tendencies among us.

15. Farmers' institutes throughout the country are always well attended. Also, homemakers' conferences attract an interested body of women from the country, at least in Wisconsin. But, in our cities, it is practically impossible to awaken general interest in lectures on education or hygiene or similar matters. Is there any social significance in these facts?

16. Examine the programme of women's clubs in the communities you know best. What interests predominate in them? What is the significance of the facts as you find them?

17. Study carefully the tendencies in the communities in which you have lived, and say whether —

(*a*) Parents show a genuine interest in acquiring accurate knowledge relating to the care and culture of their children in and out of school.

(*b*) Teachers show a genuine interest in the study of the serious problems of education.

(*c*) Farmers avail themselves of every opportunity to learn what science is doing for the improvement of agriculture.

18. Call to mind the men and women with whom you grew up, and who are now following a trade or engaged in commerce, or in practicing a profession. What proportion of them learned their business by "rule of thumb"? How many of them received a scientific training for their work?

Comment on the significance of the results of your investigation.

19. Among the adults you know, what proportion of them are not fitted for any useful work? Why? Are they a charge on the community? Could they have been made self-helpful by a sound system of education? Discuss this matter at length.

20. Is the proportion of dependents among us increasing? If so, why? What can be done by any community to prevent this?

21. How is the spirit of charity manifested among the people you know intimately? Are food, clothing, and money given directly to those who ask for them? What is the prevailing method among us of dealing with beggars?

22. Looking at the matter from a social standpoint, which is the more likely to result from our charitable methods, good or evil? Why?

23. Could it be demonstrated that the development of natural science has been the most important factor in keeping certain modern nations in a plastic and progressive attitude? Suggest principles bearing on this matter.

24. "The process by which society keeps itself going is fundamentally a process of reasoning." If this is true, could we say that the most important work of the school is that afforded by those branches which develop a reasoning type of mind? What are those branches? Why do they develop a reasoning type of mind?

25. Discuss these questions, submitted by a student of history: —

(*a*) Is it desirable to keep nations from rising and falling?
(*b*) Was a faulty educational system the cause of the decay of nations in past times?

26. Discuss the following: —

Why should solid, substantial, unimaginative Germany be recovering its youth, while romantic, volatile, impulsive Italy seems to be declining? Is not this a tribute to the educational value of logic, reason, judgment?

27. Is the feeling in England toward woman suffrage due to the natural conservatism of the English people, or to some special feeling which they have against women? What is the significance of their attitude for the progress of the nation?

28. China, after a very long period of comparative inactivity, has at last awakened to a realization of her condition, and she is making a supreme effort to regain the ground that she has lost. To what extent does this fact bear upon the doctrine that a nation must live through the periods of infancy, youth, old age, and death?

29. "Clannishness tends to the destruction of a people." Is it not clannishness that has helped certain peoples to survive, as, for example, the Swiss, the Norwegians, the Scots?

30. Is not our present-day activity in establishing trade schools, introducing commercial courses, domestic science, etc., into the public schools, a refutation of the following statement: —

> The first schools were for the learned professions and the leisure classes. We have extended education, but not changed the character of the schools.

31. New York, Chicago, and other large American cities have many hungry school children. It is quite evident that they must obtain bread in some way. Which will it do, benefit or harm them in their future career if they are cared for at public expense?

32. What is likely to be the effect in the long run upon our people of furnishing school children free text-books, cheap luncheons, gratuitous entertainments, and the like? Have you observed effects of any kind from this sort of thing?

33. What provisions are being made in your own community to make all the young, boys and girls, self-helpful when they become mature? What proportion of the men and women you know have come to maturity without having

skill in any trade, business, or profession? Is this becoming a serious problem in our country?

34. Discuss this proposition: The study of geography will give an individual social breadth and ability which could not be acquired in any other way. As taught in the schools you know, is geography valuable from the social point of view? Why?

35. Discuss the subject of history in the same manner as you have discussed geography.

36. Discuss the subjects (*a*) reading, (*b*) elocution, (*c*) composition in the same manner as you have discussed geography.

37. If you have an opportunity so to do, study the work of a typical trade school of high-school grade. Comment on the social value of its curriculum and methods of teaching, as compared with those of the ordinary high school.

38. Suppose a girl will terminate her formal education with the high school. Suppose again that during her course in the high school she has the option of electing algebra or domestic science. From the social point of view, would you advise her to choose one rather than the other? Give reasons for your action.

39. Has it been your observation that art museums and art exhibits exert a beneficial influence upon the social life of a community? Go into the matter in some detail, basing your opinions upon concrete evidence if you can secure it. Do not stop with mere repetition of conventional beliefs on this point.

40. Are artists distinguished for their superior social qualities? Are musicians? Are art centres, like Paris, celebrated for their exalted social and ethical tone?

41. From your observation, could you say whether or not instruction in the catechism in Sunday school develops religious feeling and attitudes in children? Have you known of persons who appeared to be made irreligious by this instruction? If so, what can be the explanation of such a disastrous result?

42. If children at different points in their educational course were to outline the "course of study," what sort of work do you think they would emphasize? What studies now required of them would they cast out of the course? Why?

43. What mistakes in teaching would a teacher probably avoid if he should constantly ask himself the questions: "To what extent do the children I am teaching actually apply in their daily lives what I am offering them? Will they ever make effective use of it?"

44. Do the children from "good homes" tend to "reason things out" and insist upon "knowing the reasons for everything" more than children from "poor homes"? Answer this question as it applies to the children of the city in contrast with those of the country.

45. Is a person helped or hindered by being educated above the estate in which he was born, and reared during his early years? Should a child be educated to fit into the community of his birth? Why?

46. Comment on the views presented in the following:—

It is extremely common nowadays to hear college professors sneering at the oratory, debating, poetry, essays, and stories of college students. These attempts are said to be empty, vain, high sounding. But in taking this attitude a college professor proves himself more ignorant and more ridiculous than the boys whose efforts he jeers at. The teacher acknowledges by such criticism that he does not understand the fundamental principle of pedagogy, — namely, that self-expression, imagination, production, effort, independent thought, are the best methods of training. Now the important thing is not for the college Sophomore to deliver an oration which might help save the nation; the important thing is for him to do his best to express himself effectively. He is organizing his powers of successful behavior. In short, it seems to me utterly unjustifiable for a college teacher to make fun of the earnest efforts of college boys, no matter if their efforts have absolutely no intrinsic merit.

47. "Appreciation depends upon execution." Is it true that one can appreciate the "best" music without being able to execute in any way musically? What bearing has

your answer upon the effective teaching of music from the social standpoint?

48. "It does not signify much for æsthetic development simply to live in the presence of æsthetic things." Does having the "best" pictures hanging on the walls in a schoolroom help to give children a taste for art? Does familiarity with pictures breed contempt, or perhaps indifference for them?

49. In what respects, if any, does complete uniformity in school work, such as one finds in France and in some of our own communities, fail to meet the needs of a democratic society? Are we in danger in this country of insisting upon too great uniformity?

XI. EDUCATIVE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE

1. Have you observed that those whose business it is to expound and advocate ethical, moral, or religious doctrines are themselves more ethical, moral, or religious than those whom they teach? If you can do so, give concrete illustrations of the proposition, — that one may believe a principle of ethical or social conduct, but not observe it in his own behavior. Show why there should be this divorce between theory and conduct.

2. Make a careful study of an "only child," writing out in detail his social tendencies so far as you can determine them. Then see if you can account for these tendencies in the light of his home training. You will need to know accurately who are in the home, and what their attitudes are toward the child. How does this child differ socially from the typical child of his age?

3. Compare children of twelve years of age, say, trained in a private school, or under tutors, with children of this age trained in the public schools, and describe the differences between them socially. Make the comparisons first in respect to the group as a whole, and then in respect to individuals. You will need to exercise great care to detect

the essential factors that are responsible for any differences you may note.

4. Write out a list of the maxims you learned as a child, and say in each case what help in a social way, if any, you received from them. Did you comprehend their meaning when you first learned them? If not, and yet you feel you have been helped by them, show how they have exerted upon you any influence for good.

5. What proverbs did you learn as a child? Which of them related at the time they were learned to social situations in which you had little if any experience? Trace the effect of each upon your present social tendencies.

6. Have you known children who were made "rough" and "unmannerly" by attending a public school? Be specific in your answer, and give reasons.

7. Have you observed any children who have been injured in their social and ethical life by having give-and-take relations with their fellows? If so, show just why this effect should have been produced on them.

8. In the community which you know best, are children now having a wider range of social contact with each other than they did when you were a child? If so, what effect is this exerting on their social abilities and tendencies? In what ways is their social life being enriched?

9. Do you know children who have too much association with other children? If so, say why.

10. Can people who have until maturity lived largely in isolation in the country adapt themselves to an active social life when they come into the city? Give definite concrete examples to illustrate your view of this matter.

11. Are American children as gregarious as the Italians? How about the Irish? The Germans? The Scandinavians? The English?

12. Are youths reared in the country "good mixers" when they enter a high school or a college in a town or city? Are city-bred youths always "good mixers"? Why?

13. How is the schoolmaster in his attitude toward his pupils usually depicted in general literature? The schoolmistress? Enumerate the traits of at least five teachers described in fiction.

14. Describe in detail the social opportunities of the schools in which you have been trained. Speak first of the advantages, and next of the disadvantages, as you now view the matter.

15. Show whether the following questions are important from the standpoint of social development: —

Should stereotyped positions, inflections, rhyme, and pauses ever be used in the teaching of pupils to read with expression? If so, how is one to get from these to natural expressions which will be pleasing to those who listen?

16. Is the following view a sound one? If so, what are its implications for social training: —

To be so cautious as to be afraid to stir, or to take risks for worthy ends, is a conservative attitude governed by a subconscious fear.

17. To what extent is it safe to allow children to select the *kind* of stories told to them? Why?

18. What principle is involved in the following incident? Does it bear on social education? If so, show how: —

I have in mind a little boy who asked how it was or what it was that made a watch go. The whole thing was explained to him fully. Nevertheless, the next day he was found under a bed pulling the watch to pieces to see for himself.

19. With the variety of subjects in the curriculum, and the limited time in which to present them, how may a teacher always employ induction in social education, and not superimpose his opinions upon his pupils?

20. Discuss this question, giving the evidence upon which your view is based: —

Is the desire to *get*, rather than the desire to *give*, the dominating motive in acquiring an education, even on the part of children?

21. Many business men have posted in conspicuous places in their offices such mottoes as, "Do it now"; "Don't

growl"; "Time is money"; etc. Is any significance to be attached to this practice, viewing the matter in the light of our present discussion?

22. What is the effect upon social development of requiring children to read stories for the sake of the moral they contain? Give the moral of some of the stories you heard as a child, and comment thereupon.

23. Discuss the following statement: —

The pupil who is weaving a mat under the direction of a teacher cannot fail. . . . The responsibility rests with the teacher.

Is it not the duty of the teacher to lead the pupil to feel responsibility for the results of work assigned him, since the majority of individuals will in maturity need to work under the direction of others?

24. Discuss the following questions asked by a teacher:

In the development of conscience, honor, altruism, to what extent may *blame* or *condemnation* be safely employed?

(*a*) Is it not wiser to punish by *withholding praise* rather than by condemnation?

(*b*) Aside from the possibility of condemning *wrongly*, does not condemnation injure the friendly relations which exist between teacher and pupil?

(*c*) And yet, what can be done by a teacher who finds a pupil is willfully disobedient, or careless in his work?

25. Can this statement be defended: —

After all, the development of individual industry and efficiency seems to be the most important element of social education.

26. Some people contend that every child should be told the reason for performing an act instead of simply being made to realize that he must obey law. Is it good for the child to be reasoned with in respect to most of the actions demanded of him?

27. Discuss the following question, proposed by one who teaches boys in a Sunday school: —

Boys who read dime novels, exciting Indian stories, train-robberies, etc., tend to emulate the heroes in the tales. Why do they not tend to lead religious lives when they read religious stories?

28. Comment on the following: —

Is there not much foolish twaddle about "*character building*" as the purpose of school and college? The person of character is not one who refrains from *stealing* and *lying* and *profanity;* he is the one who is able to recognize all subtle powers of wrong in modern conditions. Passing intelligent judgment on great moral dangers, he stands resolutely against them. Now when President Wilson says, "Character is a by-product of education," this is what he means, is it not? Education is to organize all the powers of body and of mind, — that is, to develop *self-control.* This done, has education (secular) not completed its task? Must not inspiration for ethical actions come from outside influences?

29. Give your views on this problem: —

Professor Scott, in chapter viii of his Social Education, commends an experiment in which boys in the third grade of a public school were allowed to pour molten wax down into the home of a harmless ant colony. Granted that such an experiment developed judgment, did it also develop a tendency toward cruelty?

30. Discuss the following: —

(*a*) I knew a clergyman who wished to teach his son of fourteen how to use a shot-gun. Together they went into a neighboring wood, where the man shot down every bird he saw, from robin and oriole to the common blackbird. From the viewpoint of training, was this a wise course to pursue?

(*b*) "The purpose of education is to surround each child by the best influences and conditions, so as to direct his physical, mental, and moral growth, so that he shall, as a present and future member of society, live the highest life of which he is capable."

(1) How does the making of maps, charts, etc., in geography work toward this result?

(2) Give a series of questions about the products of Canada which would lead a child of twelve to realize the interdependence of the people of Canada and the United States.

(3) Can a teacher in a geography lesson impress the dignity and worth of labor? If so, show how.

31. In the light of your own experience and observation, discuss the following testimonies of teachers: —

(*a*) "A stitch in time saves nine." This is the first proverb that I can remember my mother quoting to me. It seemed to be a part of the day's work. It did not mean much to me until I was old enough to mend my clothes. Then, when I, instead of

my mother, *had to do the stitching*, I felt the meaning of her words, and they have had the proper effect.

(*b*) When I found fault with others, the following was often quoted to me, but without effect : "He who lives in glass houses should not throw stones." It has only been during the last few years that I have really appreciated the truth of these words.

(*c*) "Do not throw away dirty water until you can get clean" was a great favorite of my mother's. I recall many, many instances when she quoted this, especially if she wanted to impress us with the fact that we were extravagant. It was like water poured on a duck's back. Very often we laughed at mother. Last year, I resigned a position before I had secured another ; and although I had many little experiences previous to this, they seemed trivial, and reminded me of the oft-quoted proverb, but its real truth was not brought home to me until this last experience.

32. From the standpoints of the development of social breadth and appreciation, discuss the value of the following school exercise : —

On Friday afternoons we took trips to foreign countries. Programmes were prepared by members of the geography class for the pleasure of the other pupils. The astonishing thing about this was that no one ever refused to do his part.

The schoolroom was always decorated in the colors of the country to be visited, members of the class bringing flags, pictures of noted places, etc. When we took the trip to England, one boy was very glad to bring one of the old text-books used in England, and a pen that Queen Victoria wrote with. Another boy, whose father had visited the large factories in London, brought all his postal cards, and as he told the class about some of the large manufacturing districts, he made use of these.

Others brought interesting articles that their mothers and fathers were preserving as relics. The literary part of the programme consisted of national songs, selections from England's poets, a trip to Westminster Abbey, etc.

I well remember the Scotch boy whom the class paid little attention to, until he brought newspapers and numerous other things from Scotland. He interested the boys so much by the trinkets that he held a warm spot in their hearts ever after.

Another afternoon, when a programme was given on Japan, the little girls who had charge of it planned a Japanese party, to be held in the Kindergarten, as a surprise to the others.

33. Discuss this view of the moral value of proverbs: —

Often they serve to strengthen a purpose decided upon. For example, I am in doubt about a certain piece of work; it might be just as well, and surely much easier, to let it slide. I think "Heaven helps those who help themselves," and do it. Of course the "saying" did n't decide my action, yet it approved; and it gives one a comfortable feeling of determination to know that the sages approve. Of course, I have not always analyzed them, but I have had experiences like this since childhood.

34. Are the following experiences at all typical?

(*a*) "A wise man changes his mind often, a fool never." Before hearing this maxim I always carried the idea (unexpressed) that it was a sign of weakness for one to "give in," even after he saw that he was wrong. However, after once hearing this statement it stuck, and I have often used it since to uphold a changed opinion. This maxim at the time it came to me was just what I needed.

(*b*) "There is so much good about the worst of us, and so much bad about the best of us, that it little behooves any of us to talk about the rest of us." This motto, printed on a colored card and placed above the blackboard in our high-school auditorium, inspired me to resolve never to talk about others, or at least to say nothing bad about others. I have failed, however, many times, and the motto has seldom kept me from failing. However, it was the "catchy" way in which the idea was expressed which made me heed it at all.

XII. THE CRITICAL PERIOD

1. Observe a dynamic year-old child throughout the experiences of a typical day in adjusting himself to his parents, his brothers and sisters, his pets, his toys, and his daily programme of feeding, resting, and so on. Note how often he cries, or assumes attitudes of protest against what occurs in his environment, and what are the specific causes thereof. Then comment on the relation between the child's crying and the intensity of the pain or the disappointment which occasions it.

2. Note how the people who are charged with the care of the child respond to his crying or his protests. Does the father respond differently from the mother? If there is a

grandfather, how does he respond? What about the grandmother? the aunts? the brothers? the sisters?

3. Comment on the influence on the child of the attitudes of each of the types mentioned above. Suppose the child has relations with all these types: what is the resultant effect on him of their various attitudes?

4. What is the customary response of the several types mentioned in 2 to the bullying attitudes of a dynamic boy of five years? of ten years? of fifteen years? Describe actual cases which you know well.

5. In the community you know best, what proportion of the children are cared for in their early years mainly by maids or governesses? Comment on the situation as you find it. What proportion of the children are cared for mainly by older brothers or sisters?

6. Try to get accurate data relating to the proportion of children in your community who live in homes where both father and mother work for wages. Comment on the situation in respect to the bearing of these facts on social training.

7. Without any preconceptions whatever, endeavor to observe the attitudes on the playground and in the schoolroom of children who come from the homes of working people, as compared with those who come from homes where there are servants who do the work and attend to their wishes. Which children seem to adapt themselves most easily to the rules of the school? Why?

8. Let it be granted that children may be too severely repressed in their spontaneous activities, and at the same time they may not be repressed enough. Go over the homes you know well, and indicate in each case whether you think parents are going to one extreme or the other. Describe the method of treatment in each instance. Comment on the results of your inquiry.

9. Do parents who live in the country to-day treat their children differently, as a rule, from parents who live in the city? Work the matter out in detail.

10. Make a list of the attractions which stimulate children in a typical city to-day, which their parents, as children in the country thirty or forty years ago, knew nothing about.

11. "The prettier the child, the greater is the likelihood that he will be spoiled." Is this true? If so, why so? If not, why not?

12. Locke would not tolerate the whining or complaining of a child. Would you? Why?

13. Rousseau declares that the child starts out in this life pure, innocent, and possessed of a full complement of social virtues; but he is corrupted by adults. Do you believe this? Argue the matter, whatever may be your opinion.

14. Discuss the Spartan as contrasted with the Athenian method in the treatment of children. Do you find these methods illustrated in the training of children about you to-day?

15. The Germans are strict "disciplinarians" with their children. They make them "toe the mark" on all occasions. The French treat their children in just the opposite way. Which system, if either, do you indorse? Why?

16. Do the teachers you know best *train* the children under their care, or do they simply discipline them so as to settle problems for the day or the year? Do they look forward to the needs of their pupils in maturity? Give specific instances to illustrate your answer.

17. What, in your opinion, is the effect on the criminally inclined in this country of our elaborate system of administering justice, which enables a criminal to carry his case through various courts, thus greatly delaying the infliction of any penalty he may receive? Apply the principle to an involved system of discipline in the home or the school.

18. What is the psychological explanation of women sending flowers to a brutal murderer, and petitioning for his pardon if he be convicted? Apply the principle to the training of children in the home and the school.

19. Suppose a mother, living in a city with neighbors within arm's length of her on every side, decides to permit her babe to cry out his "tantrums," and so to learn that he cannot coerce her into doing as he wishes on all occasions. What difficulties will she encounter with which a mother in the country would not have to deal?

20. How does the presence of "outsiders" in a home, or very near it, affect the social training of children? Work this out in view of actual situations with which you are familiar.

21. Describe the general spirit of the school that exerted the greatest influence for good on you. Was it about the same as, or was it much different from, your home?

22. Describe the teacher who has influenced you for good most deeply. Was he as a father or she as a mother to you?

23. Give schoolroom illustrations of this principle: "Familiarity breeds contempt."

24. Give schoolroom illustrations of this principle: "We can respect those things only that are somewhat removed from the merely ordinary or commonplace."

25. In the discipline of school children, what are the advantages of a system which requires the individual teacher to send all refractory cases to the principal or superintendent for treatment? Give instances showing the successful operation of this system.

26. Are there disadvantages in the system mentioned in the last problem? If so, point them out in detail, illustrating by concrete examples.

27. Can you indorse the sentiment expressed in the latter part of the following testimony? Do you know of college teachers who, being "sympathetic" but not scholarly or strong teachers, have made a deep impress upon students? Is the following case an exception?

When I was a senior in college we took a freshman boy into our fraternity group, who was entirely dependent upon his own resources. When the first semester was half over he came into my room one day

crying. He could n't make it go. The steward at the club refused to give him credit for even a week's board. I could n't help him ; but I took him under my wing to the home of Professor H——. There we told the boy's story. Professor H—— put his arm around the boy, cheered him up, gave him a note to the steward guaranteeing his board, and helped him to find some work. Now Professor H—— was not a learned or scholarly man, nor a great success in the classroom. But the lesson of charity and helpfulness and sympathy made that day upon two impressionable boys was worth infinitely more than any number of intellectual truths.

28. Locke would never yield to a child in his importuning for playthings or sweetmeats, or what not. Do you sympathize with this view? Why ?

29. Observe a parent's relation to his two-year-old son, who is very active, and "wants the earth." Does the parent ignore the child in many of his requests? Or does he yield if the child importunes long enough and vigorously enough? What proportion of parents resist the demands of their young children ?

30. Can one develop the importuning tendency in a child? How? Describe a concrete instance illustrating your answer.

31. Locke condemned the practice current in his day of blaming children in public for their faults. He said one might praise in public, but never blame. Do you agree? Why? As you observe what is going on about you, do parents and teachers follow the plan you approve ?

32. Will the child whose coercive tendencies are encouraged be more likely to hold his own in the business world — to be a leader without being a bully — than the child who is "taught to keep his place" in the early years? Give concrete instances to illustrate your view.

33. A parent asks the following question : —

Is the typical schoolroom homelike enough to win the child ? Would making schoolrooms more attractive detract from the efficiency of school work ?

Make observations in the schoolrooms of your commu-

nity, and then discuss the above question. Make practical suggestions if you think any changes are desirable.

34. A father proposes the following: —

Mrs. Birney suggests to the mother of a boy who constantly dawdles at his work, — "Get all the historical anecdotes you can find which deal with the vice of tardiness and the virtue of punctuality, and repeat them to him at intervals." If an invitation to work faster *at the time of the offense* does not have the desired effect, would not a strap prove more effective in the majority of cases?

Discuss this important problem in all its bearings.

35. Give your views of the following problem suggested by a teacher: —

What do you think of parents who drink tea and coffee, but forbid their children doing so? Do the latter really believe an adult if he says to them, — "Tea and coffee are n't good for children"?

36. Should parents insist upon a child taking music lessons if he dislikes to do so? How about lessons in drawing? in physical culture? in domestic science? This problem has many aspects; do not dismiss it summarily.

36. Discuss the following: —

I know of parents who make it a point to encourage their children in choosing playmates who are a little older, a little more advanced in their studies, or a little brighter or more independent than they themselves are. Is this a commendable practice? Will a child develop leadership and individuality to a large degree if his associates are superior in these respects?

38. In the community you know best, do parents as a rule sustain the teacher in all cases of discipline? Or do they take the part of a child who has been punished? If the parents do not sustain the teacher, what is the effect upon the *morale* of the school? What is the effect upon individual children? Give concrete, specific instances.

39. A recent educational book makes the statement that "nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every one thousand teachers will be glad to have the parents of their pupils call at the school." Do you agree? Have you known exceptions to this statement? Discuss the whole matter.

40. The following editorial, taken from a daily newspaper, discusses several very important details regarding the relation of the home to the school in respect to the discipline of pupils. Do you indorse the sentiment of the editorial in all respects? Whatever position you take, give concrete evidence in support of your view: —

Parents have a distinct duty before them in upholding the discipline of the school and the rules of the teachers at whatever cost. Children constantly come home with complaints. The parents condole and sympathize, little dreaming that they are encouraging their children to open rebellion. In this way parents often keep alive resentment, the small beginnings of which they should in wisdom have turned aside. "Mother thinks it was real mean of teacher," or, "So do I," has been the beginning of innumerable school tragedies. If parents suspect a teacher of unfairness or neglect, a few quiet words outside of school hours will set the matter straight. But the child should not know that the visit has been made or the words spoken. Nothing helps a child more substantially to surmount the hard places of school life than the firm support of its parents. Parents who are unfaltering in their allegiance to school discipline, and who uphold the teachers through the crises and climaxes of the school year, have their reward, for they are sure to see the best results the system is capable of producing worked out in their children's character. Such parents, by this example alone, invite in their children the same high-grade quality of obedience and confidence they themselves make it a business to express. There are always good sides to every school, and, with a little looking, fine qualities to be found in all the teachers. Parents can do much towards influencing their children's point of view by speaking of them. There is no discouragement to a young child greater than to hear from his parents' lips slighting or jesting remarks about his school. Without loyalty and enthusiasm the school will fail in some mysterious way to do its best for the child, and the pupil who is lukewarm in his allegiance will draw very little upon the real strength of its grander inner life.

41. In a certain city the superintendent of schools has three children in the schools. The teachers who have these children under their care are "easy" on them, because of their relations to the father. The children are let off from requirements exacted of their classmates. They are not compelled to remain after hours to make up back work, and so on. Are these children to be congratulated, or to be pitied? Why?

42. Have you known any homes in which the father has not sustained the mother in the discipline of the children, and *vice versa?* Has this always had a bad effect on the children? How can one tell?

43. Have you known schools in which the principal or the superintendent has not supported his teachers in their infliction of penalties upon pupils? Describe concrete cases of this sort. Was the principal or the superintendent in error? Why?

44. Discuss the following actual cases of discipline, showing the principle involved in each, and suggest whether it is probable any better course might have been followed in each case: —

(*a*) A muscular lady teacher in the sixth grade of a Milwaukee grade school had for a pupil an overgrown boy, distinguished for his lack of knowledge. The boy was always showing off in various ways to the smaller children. One day he was "making a face" behind the teacher's back. She suddenly turned around, and caught him in the act. She jumped down the aisle, seized him by the shoulders, and shook him until he was breathless. He could not resist, and when she was through he was thoroughly subdued. After that episode the teacher was highly respected, and the discipline in her class was exceptionally good.

(*b*) The most successful case of discipline I have ever seen was the case of a boy of about twelve who had a brute-like father, and had been whipped a great deal at home. Every teacher dreaded to have him in her room. He would scratch up every one's work around him, as well as his own. The principal had tried corporal punishment, but it was unsuccessful. The teacher tried to be indifferent to him. She placed people around him who did excellent work, and when he scratched up their papers, she would turn to the one whose paper was spoiled and say, — "That was a very good paper; I 'll give you a good on that." In this way, even the children became indifferent to his actions.

One night the teacher kept him after school and talked to him a long time on doing the "square thing." The next day she found him trying to do better, and said "good." He immediately went back to his old tricks again. Every possible chance after that which the teacher had she would say "good"

to him. He got so he would look for it, and do little things to see if she would say it. One day, however, he was particularly fiendish. The teacher kept him after school; and when they were alone she told him that when she first knew him she thought him the meanest boy she had ever known, but that she was entirely mistaken; that now when she understood him, she found him as fine and "square" a little gentleman as she had ever known. This was unexpected, and the child burst out crying. The teacher went down to him and tried to make him stop crying, but it was impossible; he was sobbing as a child rarely does. At last she quieted him, and they left the school together. Of course he often fell back into his old ways, but one could see that he was really trying to be good; by the end of the year he was almost a model boy. The first part of the year he was shy, and never laughed or played with the other children. At the end of the year he would talk over his work with the teacher, and was friendly with the other children.

He had always been beaten, and he expected it from every one. He was suspicious of any one who tried to be kind to him; but by constant efforts and encouragement he tried to approach the standard which the teacher had set for him that night.

(*c*) I once knew a mother who made a rule that her son should be in the house every night at eight o'clock. He always played as long as he wanted to, and it was after eight when he got home. His mother was always waiting for him with a light little switch. She would meet him at the door and start to whip him. He would run through the house, ever and anon getting a little touch of the whip, at which he would yell as if it were killing him. The tender-hearted mother simply could n't stand to see her son in such pain; so after the second or third yell she would stop and say, — "Now, will you be in to-morrow night at eight?" The next night the same scene would occur, and so it went on for weeks.

The boy knew what was coming every night, but it did n't hurt, and the fun of staying out more than made up for those few strokes of the whip. She tried forbidding him to go out at all; but when he would come after dinner and beg to go out "just for a few minutes," she simply could n't refuse him. Promising faithfully to be in at eight, he would run off, to come back when he got ready.

(*d*) A child at the table refused to ask for what he wanted, as he had been told to do. His mother informed him he could not have his plate until he would say "Please." He refused

obstinately, and persisted in saying "I want my plate." His plate was not given to him until about a half hour later, when he said "Please." He seemed as joyful over the fact that he had said the word, as his mother was, and he told every one who came in that he had said "Please."

The next day, to his mother's surprise, the same difficulty arose; but again he did not have his way until he had said the word. Since then she has had no difficulty with him, and the lesson has proved a good one.

(*e*) In the fifth grade of a city school a very unruly, overgrown boy was annoying the teacher and every one else in the room, by deliberately shuffling his feet on the floor, and making as much noise as possible. The teacher endured it for a few moments; and then she turned to the school and said, — "Does the disturbance John Jones is creating bother any one besides myself?" Immediately almost every hand in the room went up to affirm that John Jones was disturbing practically every one. "All right," said the teacher, confident that the school was on her side. "John Jones, you may come up here to my desk." The boy sheepishly arose and did as he was told.

"Now, John," continued the teacher, "here are thirty-two people, whose time and quiet you are intruding upon. What right do you think you have to do this?" John was silent. "Now go to your seat, and get your lesson for the next class. If you do this properly, you won't have time to waste." John took his seat and went to work, and the teacher had no more trouble with him.

(*f*) It was 2 : 15 P. M., and the school was marching out for recess. Johnnie Jones was evidently to be "first to bat," judging from his great haste to get out to the playground. He was just one aisle from the door now; and what was the use of marching up and down another whole aisle, when you could pass right through a seat and escape? Johnnie hesitated a single instant, and then he did it.

The teacher's eyes flashed fire, as she called out in a rasping voice, "Johnnie Jones, come back here this minute, and take your seat!"

Again Johnnie hesitated. But the teacher fairly flew after him, and pulling him back by one ear and one arm, she pushed him into his seat. "Now stay there, and see how you like that," she said, as she turned to put some work on the blackboard. Just then a small voice called to her from the door, and she turned to hear Willie Smith say, "Teacher, can't Johnnie please come now? He 's up to bat, an' we 'll lose this game to the fourth-graders if Johnnie don't come an' make a home-

run for us." But the teacher only told Willie to go out and close the door, while Johnnie took out his Speller and tried to choke back the tears.

After recess nothing went right. The pupils all whispered incessantly about how mean teacher had been to Johnnie. Nobody recited well, and the teacher was so cross that when four o'clock came the pupils almost ran out of the room to get away.

XIII. COÖPERATION IN GROUP EDUCATION

1. Describe an instance you have observed of a number of children of any age organizing themselves into a group for purposes of work or play, without suggestion or aid from any outsider. How did the idea of organization originate among them?

2. In your own development, when did you first become conscious of the group as a unit? With reference to what interest or activity did the sense of group solidarity earliest appear in your case?

3. Do children in the city organize into groups earlier than they do in the country, or *vice versa?* Why should there be any difference in this respect?

4. Do boys organize into groups earlier than girls, or *vice versa*? Why should there be any difference between them?

5. In the community you know best, what are the dominant interests which cause boys in the elementary school to form true groups? Speak in the same way of girls.

6. What dominant interests lead to group life among high-school boys? High-school girls? College men? College women?

7. Describe the group life in any boy's gang that you know well. Mention its rules of organization, explicit or implied, its ideals, if there are any, etc.

8. Describe any groups you know to have been formed spontaneously by boys or girls for literary, scientific, or æsthetic purposes. Indicate how the idea of organization originated, how the group is conducted, etc.

9. Mention the by-laws, written or unwritten, of any boy groups you know well. Do the same for any girl groups.

10. Describe in detail a group of either boys or girls, of which a minister is an active member in good and regular standing. Also a teacher.

11. Can you distinguish elementary-school teachers from other people, by their dress or manner or appearance? If so, what are their peculiar traits? How is it in respect to high-school teachers? University instructors?

12. What proportion of the fathers you know are comrades to their young sons? to their adolescent sons? to their grown sons? Speak in the same way of the relations of mothers to their daughters.

13. What proportion of the boys you know speak of their fathers in terms of genuine good-fellowship? How do the girls you know speak of their mothers? Are the relations between fathers and daughters, and mothers and sons, more friendly than the other way around? Why?

14. What are the opportunities for children to play freely without annoying adults in the community in which you now live? By careful observation, determine what proportion of the boys around you from seven to fifteen years of age have proper facilities for a reasonable amount of play according to their needs and interests.

15. How do the boys in the community in which you live spend their leisure time in winter? Find out whether there is a suitable place of any sort whatever dedicated solely to the needs of boys. Are the girls any better off?

16. Describe any experiments you know being made by churches, schools, or charitable organizations to provide opportunities for children to play.

17. What progress is the playground movement making in the community you know best? Are there people opposed to it? What arguments do they advance in hostility to it? Comment on their opinions.

18. Are the school buildings in your community sur-

rounded by generous open spaces dedicated to the pupils for play purposes? Comment on the situation as you find it.

19. What games or plays do the boys and girls play together in the community you know best? What do you think is the social value of these games? What benefit do the girls receive from playing with the boys, and *vice versa?* Be specific, in respect alike to games and to benefits.

20. Do boys and girls of any age receive social injury from playing games together in the community you know best? If so, mention the games, and the disadvantages resulting from playing them.

21. To what extent do high-school boys and girls dance together in the community you know best? Are they benefited socially thereby? Are they injured? Give your reasons in detail.

22. Comment on the value for social development of such old-fashioned school exercises as (*a*) "spelling down" matches; (*b*) passing to the head or to the foot in recitations, according as one was superior or inferior to his classmates; (*c*) "speaking pieces" on Friday afternoons, and at the close of a school term; (*d*) evening debating exercises.

23. What was the social value, if any, of the olden time practice in schools of having two pupils sit in the same seat, often a boy and a girl together?

24. Would you overlook fighting on the playground at school, provided the principals were not injured, and a dispute was settled as a result? Do you consider fighting a part of a boy's legacy, — a natural right?

25. Is the worst feature about fighting among boys found in their aptness to develop profanity? If we could eliminate profanity, would fighting be a commendable exercise?

26. Granted that rewards are of service in school work, could they be given on the basis of the judgment of the entire school, rather than of the teacher alone? What would be the advantage of such a system? What would be the difficulties in administering it?

27. Comment on the social value of the following school experiences: —

(*a*) One thing which has aided me much in social development was the necessity of appearing regularly before the school to recite or read. This taught me to keep my poise before people. It also taught me never to try to talk unless I had something to say, and knew what it was.

(*b*) One experience which helped me much was this: I had a problem to solve. I worked on it quite strenuously, with no success. I then went to the teacher with it, and said that I could not get it, as though I did not intend trying again. The teacher calmly said that he did not know before that I was a "quitter." I hardly knew what a "quitter" was then, but the word did not feel good. After thinking it over, however, I decided as to about what it must mean, and although I did nothing further to solve that problem, I decided never to "be a quitter" again.

28. In the light of your own experience and your observations in the schools of to-day, discuss each point in the following testimony: —

As I look back over my school life, I do not see that I received direct social training through any specific school experience. I did receive some valuable training of this sort from mingling with other pupils on the playgrounds, in games, in the literary society, and at the few school social functions which were held. I feel now that there is not enough of these activities in the schools to-day.

29. Is the following incident at all common among children of any age? What principle is illustrated by it?

When I was a boy in the eighth grade I received a very bad injury on my head. For many weeks I remained at home, finally going back to school with head bandaged heavily, and smelling strongly of carbolic acid and other chemicals. Some little girl classmates, who did not like the odor from my bandages, turned up their noses at me, and requested one teacher to allow them to change their seats. I then and there learned a lesson in self-control and sacrifice, by resolving never to cause another the chagrin and mortification I was compelled to suffer by my playmates.

30. Comment on the following instance of group discipline of non-conforming individuals: —

A certain fraternity here in —— had some trouble this fall with their freshmen. At the beginning of the year a rule was read which

said that freshmen "should not drink." The law was violated by the freshman class as a group, and those who should have had authority pursued the *laissez faire* policy, and merely winked at the proceedings. Thus encouraged, the freshmen persisted in breaking the rule. Those in authority finally realized that the thing was going too far, and determined to discipline the freshmen at any cost. With this in view a meeting was called, and the rule was read and clearly stated once more. For a few days it was obeyed ; but finally two freshmen broke the rule, and came to their house with circumstantial evidence of the infraction. Then authority asserted itself. Those two freshmen were popped into a bath-tub full of ice-cold water, with all their clothes on, and left there to reflect upon their action. The other freshmen looked askance, but were given no satisfaction. The next week one freshman only persisted in breaking the rule. He was given a nice bath-tub party, and in addition a "talking to" such as he had seldom experienced in his life. That was the last of the insubordination, and a better disciplined crowd of freshmen cannot now be found in the university.

31. What principle of group organization among the young is illustrated in the following instance?

In a small town not far from —— the pupils in the upper grades of the elementary school became enthused with the idea of renting a hall for a sort of gymnasium for playing basketball and the like. The impetus had been given them by one of their number who had lived formerly in a near-by town, where he had had the advantages of a gymnasium. The instructor approved of the movement, but resolved to see whether the pupils could not conduct affairs themselves, he being ready at any time to take over the matter if they failed. A few of the older boys got together and arranged a sort of contract, whereby the signers pledged themselves to pay a quarter each to rent a hall. This they passed around among the pupils until enough had been received to rent an unused hall. At first there was little regularity and order in the use of the hall ; but finding that their quarreling and squabbling over the hours each was to play was spoiling their fun, they organized themselves into a society and made out a regular schedule of hours for the members, arranged for games, and conducted the affair in an orderly manner during the winter months, with practically no advice given them by their elders. There was no organization to start with, and it was not until discord and quarreling became serious that the older ones began to take charge and organize into a definite body.

32. What principle of group relation and control is illustrated in the following instances?

(*a*) The best example of successful control that I ever witnessed was on the subject of talking in the halls at high school. The

principal came into the assembly room and discussed the matter with the pupils, and got several people to express their opinions. In this way he created a feeling of fellowship between himself and the pupils, and made them realize that they were in a sort of partnership with him in keeping order. After this friendly discussion the talking ceased.

(*b*) When I was teaching in a country school, one of my boys, who was about thirteen years of age, used language in the presence of some of the little girls which was very improper. The next morning I gave a short talk on the occurrence, and said that I was sorry to learn that some of my boys were not gentlemen, as I had thought them to be. Such boys were altogether unfit to associate with the little girls of the school ; therefore, I had given orders to the girls that they were not to talk to or play with such a boy until he had apologized to them before the school for his conduct. This practically ostracized that boy from all the games. He stood it for three days, but gave way at last, and made the required apology, being very careful thereafter to keep the respect of myself and the rest of the pupils.

(*c*) The following case of discipline came up in a fifth-grade city school. A boy of twelve had entered school late in the fall. The grade was in good working order, and the spirit of the work was fine. This new boy was larger and stronger physically than the other boys, and he began immediately to tease and annoy them on the playground. He carried the same bullying spirit into the schoolroom, and chaos reigned round about wherever he sat.

Finally it became evident that something had to be done, and that soon. The teacher knew her pupils, and how they would respond to her. She began one afternoon to tell an unusually interesting story. Even Frank listened until the story was well under way ; but all at once it occurred to him that he was not living up to his reputation, so he slapped at a fly loud enough to startle every one. The teacher had expected this interruption, and she ceased telling the story. The children begged her to go on, for Frank had not yet been in school long enough to be a leader or centre of attraction. When the teacher said that she could not tell the story with so much noise, some of the pupils suggested that Frank be put out of the room. But she herself suggested that this would be a temporary cure only. So the children concluded it was not the thing to do. One boy made the remark that Frank was spoiling all their fun out of doors, and another said that she could n't study near him. The teacher stated that the

situation was a serious one, and as all were being annoyed, it would be well for them all to talk it over. Frank heard these remarks, mumbling something to himself all the time. Although corporal punishment was seldom heard of, the children seemed to think this the place for it. The teacher asked if they thought she ought to be obliged to do it, and they thought not ; but some of the boys said they would. In the mean time, looks of approbation passed from one to another. The teacher deftly turned the subject by saying that there was other work to do to-day, and they would have to think awhile. School was dismissed soon, and a few minutes later, two little girls came running back to tell the teacher that the boys had pounded Frank, and if she looked out of the window, she could see them chasing him home.

That afternoon Frank did not appear, but the next morning as he walked in a smile was plainly visible on all faces ; but nothing was ever said except to the mother, who wrote a note of complaint. Frank, although often careless, was never a nuisance again.

XIV. PROBLEMS OF TRAINING

1. In the first part of Chapter XIV there is described a concrete situation in which a child, J., refused to obey a command given him by his governess. What in your opinion would have been the advantage or the disadvantage to the child if he had been whipped by his governess until he had yielded to her will? Suggest other methods of solving the problem presented by this case.

2. Describe a specific instance of conflict you have observed between a parent or teacher and a child. Give the adult's and the child's point of view, and say which you think was in the right. Could the conflict have been avoided? Could the adult have dealt with the situation more effectively than he did? Why?

3. Discuss this proposition, taken from a recent manual for parents: —

If the parent or the teacher really understood child nature, and was unselfish in his dealings with any child, seeking only to train him in the best way, there would never be any problem of discipline. The

trouble in educating children always comes from the adult's lack of understanding, or his unwillingness to go halfway in his relation with a child.

4. Describe as accurately as you possibly can the situation in a schoolroom you have observed in which there was an unusual amount of conflict between the teacher and his pupils. Bring out clearly the causes of this conflict, and say whether or not it could have been avoided. Do not allow your prejudices to influence your perception of the true factors operating in this case. Do not forget, either, that the attitudes of children in the past determine in large measure their conduct in the present.

5. Describe in detail a schoolroom in which there is very little conflict between the teacher and his pupils, and point out the factors which are operating to produce this peaceful condition.

6. Describe a home in which there is much quarreling between the parents and the children, and bring out clearly the causes therefor.

7. Describe a church in which there is an unusual amount of conflict between the minister and his flock. What are the reasons for this?

8. Are the problems of training children to-day more serious in the city than in the country? Or is it the other way around? Why?

9. Are the problems of training more serious in the high school than in the elementary school? in the college than in the high school? Why?

10. Discuss this proposition: "Every child should be taught to obey for the sake of obedience." Whom should he obey at the age of two? of five? of twelve? of twenty? of thirty?

11. Aristotle thought children should not be suppressed when they were crying or screaming, for these activities were essential to their full development. On the other hand, Locke would not tolerate anything of the kind; for

if permitted to cry and scream, the child would acquire willful habits, which would set him against authority later on. With whom do you take sides? Give reasons in full.

12. Locke thought the chief problem in training was to develop in the child the power to deny his own cravings. This can be accomplished by refusing to give the child many of the things he asks for. Discuss the whole matter, presenting definite concrete evidence in support of your view.

13. Do women in training the young tend to make use of verbal discipline more largely than men? Or is it the other way around?

14. Bring before your attention the best disciplinarian you have ever known. How did he or she secure results, — by "laying down the law" effectively, or by some other means?

15. Describe a parent or teacher you have observed whose commands were more often ignored than obeyed. Be careful to point out the reasons the commands carried little weight.

16. Describe a parent or teacher you know well whose behests are always obeyed without delay or resistance. How does he differ in his methods from the person you described in response to the preceding question?

17. If you have read "The Hoosier Schoolmaster," comment on the principles of training and discipline expounded in that story. Mention the more important concrete situations in which the schoolmaster was placed, and how he solved the problems presented to him.

18. Say why "Arnold of Rugby" has come to stand for the highest kind of efficiency in dealing with schoolboys.

19. Take any three of the teacher-characters in Dickens' novels, and comment on their personality and their methods of discipline.

20. Mention a number of great teachers depicted in fiction, and point out the qualities of each which the authors aimed to celebrate.

21. Plutarch declared that in his day parents paid little or no attention to the character or attainments of those who taught their children, thinking that any one who could keep them in order, and protect them from physical harm, would meet requirements. What do parents think along this line to-day? Give concrete facts in support of your statement.

22. Quintilian urged that in the training of children we should treat each as an individual with special tendencies and needs, so we should avoid dealing with them *en masse*. Do you agree? To what extent do we observe Quintilian's principles in our practice to-day?

23. Describe a father or a teacher who is at one time a genuine playfellow with his boys, but at another time their efficient instructor, and if need be their judge and corrector.

24. So far as you have observed, are parents and teachers too free or too reserved in their relations with the children under their care? Is it different in the city as compared with the country?

25. What principle of training is involved in the following?

> At the house where I board there is a little seven-year-old girl. She is pretty but to me unattractive, and although I love children and usually win their confidence at once, I took a dislike to this little girl, but in every way possible tried not to show it. Nevertheless, she actually hates me, and makes no secret of the fact either. She would not say a kind word to me or step across the floor to serve me. If I have on any garment she has not seen before, she calls it out at the top of her voice, so that the other boarders can hear her, because she thinks it displeases me.

26. Are parents and teachers more reserved with younger or with older children? Is this best? Discuss the matter at length.

27. What pastimes do high-school pupils in the community you know best indulge in to-day, which might better be left until the completion of the school period?

28. Do the best students in the high school dance the most?

In answering this question, review your own experience as a student in the high school. Then get the opinion of a principal in whose views on such matters you have confidence.

29. What is the relative rank in the legitimate work of the high school of the boys who smoke? Be careful to get some accurate data relating to this matter; do not be satisfied with merely repeating current theories regarding it.

30. Have you known boys and girls who were very "gay" as high-school and college students, but who have become more or less *blasé* in maturity? If so, describe the career of one such individual, and comment thereupon.

31. Is it a help or a hindrance to a girl of twelve to have a "beau," who in the language of the day is a "steady"? How is it with a boy of this age? It will be easy to make platitudinous remarks in response to this question, but try to get some definite, specific information bearing on the matter.

32. Ask the distinguished men and women about you whom you know well when they began to have "beaux." Then get their opinion on these propositions: —

It would be better all around if boys did not begin to think about the girls, except as playmates, and *vice versa*, until the adolescent period is nearing completion. No one should have a regular beau, at least until graduation from the high school.

33. Does the training of boys and girls together in the same school during the high-school period make it difficult to keep this period free from dancing and the like? Would it be easier to delay the development of sex interest if the boys and girls were taught separately at this time?

34. What proportion of the girls in the co-educational high school you know best are distracted from the legitimate work of the school by the presence of boys? Answer this question as it relates to the boys also.

35. Comment on this statement: —

From what I have observed, I do not find that the sentimental age ends with the adolescent period. Last year I was where I could ob-

serve the conversation of three university (co-educational) girls, — a junior, a senior, and a girl who had graduated. They talked invariably about boys when together. They were all very good students, and girls who ordinarily would not be looked upon as sentimental.

36. How would you deal with a situation where the boys in a high school were becoming too much interested in the girls, and *vice versa?* Give an account of experiments in this direction that have proved successful.

37. What would you have done in the following situation?

When I was teaching in the high school at home, one of the girls, who was considered "troublesome" by most of the faculty, discovered, or thought she discovered, that I was always "better-natured" when I had flowers around me. Consequently, I was seldom without flowers. Almost every day A. came with her floral offering. One result was, she and I got very well acquainted, and had many common interests outside of school work. We came to like each other, and I have always maintained that her liking for me led her to do good work in my classes. I could never quite understand how other teachers could call her unladylike and a poor student, but I have learned since from her classmates that she "did n't do anything in some of her classes." Other teachers laughingly told me that she was "working" me. I had to confess to the influence of delicately scented, beautiful flowers. The question remains, — Was I bought? I am certain that A. first brought her flowers with the intention of "buying me," or, as she would put it, rendering me less critical by subjecting me to the influence of flowers.

38. Discuss the statement of facts in the following quotation. Also present your view of the most effective method of dealing with the matter: —

In a small town girls as well as boys go to the neighboring towns to play basketball, etc. While on these trips, if left alone, they delight in doing things of which the chaperon would not approve, and which seem to them a little wicked. Should they be rigidly brought to task for these tendencies? or how can such matters best be handled?

39. Discuss the statement of fact in the following quotation. Then discuss the principle of training involved: —

Children, at least adolescents, and sometimes adults, try to make out that they are a little worse morally than they really are. Should parents and teachers try to remedy this? And if so, how can it best be done?

40. Are the suppositions and inferences contained in this quotation sound?

We believe that education probably teaches the same lessons, but is more appropriate for an immature individual than actual experience in moral situations. Then is not formal moral training which is designed to create correct attitudes toward individuals and society commendable?

41. Discuss the following: —

In a high school with which I am very familiar, some of the pupils (girls) are not interested in any but a very small group of perhaps three or four special friends. They do not care for parties, or for association with the boys in the school. Would it be better for themselves and for society if they were urged, and even compelled, to mingle with the other pupils?

42. Do you think the following experience, described by a university student, is typical in principle?

"Politeness is to do and say the kindest things in the kindest way." This motto was in our second reader, and probably would have made no impression on me but for the fact that the teacher required an essay upon this motto. Each member of the class wrote an original essay, which emphasized the thought. During the discussion one member of the class said something that was not considered polite according to the definition, and this increased the impression.

43. How should the following type of person be treated in the elementary and in the high school?

A. is a young man twenty years of age. He has been from childhood timid, bashful, and taciturn. He has not cared for associates; in fact, he declines association with others. He is ill-at-ease in the presence of any one except a close friend. He acquired this attitude on account of the domineering manners of older brothers, and on account of ill health. He cannot converse with another in any connected way. He seems to lack thought material. He is considered a bore by all who know him.

However, A. is very pronounced in his desire to communicate his thoughts. He is frequently overheard while addressing the cows in the stable on political subjects. He is much sought after to make speeches at birthday parties and family gatherings. At such occasions he is eloquent, and does not lack thought material, or words for expression of this material. He writes lengthy articles for the local newspapers. He takes part in numerous debates.

He has developed a great propensity for talking to himself or to some imaginary person. After he has retired, he will frequently be heard to talk with some imaginary companion, although he would become mute if any real person should enter his presence.

44. How would you explain the differences between the individuals described in the following observations made by a careful student of human nature?

(*a*) I have observed two types of boys, who furnish examples of directly opposite effects of suppression at home. Both of these boys are freshmen in the university. They come from different cities, different kinds of homes, and have been brought up by different kinds of parents, though both have been exceedingly restricted.

The first boy, A., is the son of a well-to-do physician. He has had an excellent home, and within the limits of the home a great deal has been furnished that has interested him. His parents are refined and cultured people. While he has always been provided with *things* which helped to increase his knowledge and ability, he has been practically cut off from the society of other boys and girls. His parents demanded that he should always come home immediately after school, where either work or play in the attic awaited him. He was never allowed to play football, baseball, or anything in the least rough. He never invited other boys to play in his yard, and he never went to play in theirs. When he reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, other boys ceased to take any interest whatever in him. I believe he was never known to talk to a girl.

This boy, as I said before, is now in the university. He seems to be reticent, dull, uncommunicative, and seemingly sullen. He seems to take no interest in what others are doing, or in their relation to him as a member of their group. He seems isolated, even in the midst of many.

The second boy, B., was brought up under different circumstances, but was kept continually under the eyes of an ever-watchful mother. The home of this boy is a very plain and ordinary one. His parents are of limited means. They are quite lacking in education, and their social position is not very high. They are, however, honest, earnest, respectable people.

B. was brought up on the same general plan as A., but not quite so severely and strictly. While other boys played after school, B. did odd jobs for the neighbors while he was little,

and later worked in a store. He seldom had time or money for entertainment; the proceeds of his labor went to his parents. During the years he attended high school he always worked during vacations, and was at home evenings.

This boy, since coming to ——, has completely changed his mode of life. He is social, friendly, and inclined to enjoy those things which other boys enjoy. He is not a book-worm, but goes out with other boys and takes a keen, active interest in everything pertaining to university life. His attitude toward strangers has undergone a complete revolution.

45. Comment on the following: —

Not long ago, a child of about three or four years visited with her mother, in a sorority house containing twenty girls. The mother, a dreamer, — some say a genius, — spends all her time writing books. She makes a "companion" of her three-year-old child. So the child does as she chooses, goes to bed at eleven or twelve, when her mother does, and talks continually at the table, unchecked by her mother. One night we had company to dinner, — a girl we wanted to make a "hit" with, as it happened. The visitor sat with her back toward the main part of the dining-room, while Virginia sat facing the room, so that she was back to back with the visitor.

During dinner, as we were talking to our guest, Virginia turned around in her chair, and, without warning, *wiped her spoon in the visitor's hair.* As the mother apparently never noticed it, we apologized to our friend, and continued dinner. Soon the child turned around again, and *deliberately began to pull down Miss ——'s hair.* The mother still seemed oblivious to her daughter's actions, who continued her misbehavior until it became necessary for one of us to reprimand her, and to keep guard to see that she practiced no more indignities on Miss ——. This is only one of many such incidents.

46. What principles of social development and training are illustrated in the following autobiographical note? In discussing it, say whether the case is a typical one.

The most impressive social experience of my life occurred when I was a senior in the high school. Although my mother always dressed me well, I never had had a silk dress; and I, like other young girls, liked pretty clothes. However, for the banquet which the juniors provided for us, my mother gave me a blue silk dress. It was pretty and becoming, and I was very happy over it. The eventful night came, and my heart was filled with supreme joy. The Junior Banquet was quite a social function, and every one was there in his "best clothes."

The principal, whom I liked very much, remarked immediately about my pretty dress. That remark placed me in the seventh heaven. As the evening passed, the principal was rather attentive, and I was almost beside myself with joy; and to cap the climax, when the time for refreshments came he asked me to go with him. From a group of thirty girls the principal chose me. I cannot explain the effect all this had upon me. I was only sixteen at the time, and I thought it was the blue dress which was the cause of so much attention on the part of the principal. Consequently, after that I wanted silk all the time, until I became older and knew better. However, I still believe that "fine feathers make fine birds." This experience meant more than this to me. It made me feel that the principal, whom I had placed far, far above me in every respect, was only an ordinary human being after all; but since I was to graduate in a week or so, I think that had no particular effect on me. But now, as I think of the matter, many questions come to me. Is it wise for a teacher to take part in the social functions of the town in which he is teaching? If so, to what extent? In what way can he take part, if he does, so as not to lower his position in the estimation of his pupils? It seems to me that discipline and efficiency in instruction will be out of the question when pupils realize that their teacher is only an ordinary human being after all.

47. Discuss the principles of social development and training illustrated in the following instances: —

(*a*) Will Brown had been the terror of the school from the time he was in the second grade, when he began to realize that he could make his teacher angry. If the teacher's attention was ever called to a fight on the playground, Will Brown was always found to be the cause of it. He got into every possible scrape, and did everything a bad boy could do, and was the bully of the school. He had to stand in the corner, stay in at recess, stay after school, and was whipped until it seemed all the wickedness must have been whipped out of him, but all to no avail. He only became more stubborn every time he was whipped. In the high school he still continued his mischievous pranks, and each teacher in turn tried all her methods to make Will come to time. He found supreme joy in the fact that he could annoy them all the time, and that they did not dare to whip him. When the new assistant in German arrived, Will said he could tell by her scared look that he would make it lively for her. During her hour in the assembly room, Will found any number of excuses to go up on the platform, and he always stubbed his toe on the last step, and stumbled, creating a great disturbance, and making the other pupils laugh.

Miss X—— said nothing and ignored him. Will did his best to try to annoy Miss X—— for the next two weeks, and then, finding that she paid no attention to him, and would not get angry, he finally settled down to work and became a fairly good boy.

(*b*) It was a beautiful evening in September, and the call from the outdoor world was strong. It was Thursday evening, and Thursday evening was the maid's evening "out." The small girl, who is the heroine, or perhaps the victim of this episode, was racing down the lawn to the gate to play at Blindman's Buff with the neighborhood children, when her mother called to her to come back and help Mary (the serving girl) with the dinner dishes, since this was Thursday evening. This did not suit Ethel's notion at all, and after much hedging and begging the question, she finally refused to do as her mother bade her. Her mother then told her that she was free to choose between helping Mary with the dishes and going to bed. Ethel, with her young head in the air, at once proceeded up the stairs to her own room, somewhat comforted by the thought of the new "Youth's Companion" which had come that afternoon, and which was now in her room. She was undressing, preparatory to going to bed, when her mother came in, and after quite a severe lecture went away, taking not only the "Youth's Companion," but also the electric light globes with her, and incidentally locking the door on the outside. Ethel lay on the bed crying, half from anger and half from pity of her own hard lot. After what seemed an eternity, she heard her father's footsteps on the stairs. He came to her door, and finding it locked, bade Ethel open it at once. Ethel explained that her mother had the key, and told him the whole affair. She thought that her father went downstairs with unusual rapidity, and was at a loss to understand it, until she heard him coming up again in a few minutes. He unlocked the door, came in, screwed in the electric light bulbs, and sat down near the bed, at the same time producing from his pocket a box of marshmallows and the "Youth's Companion." The influence of the candy, aided by the influence of the reading aloud of the magazine from cover to cover, served to dispel the look of antagonism on Ethel's face, and by ten o'clock she was fast asleep. Her father went softly out of the room, and down the stairs, where he favored Ethel's mother with a few ideas of his own on the subject of the bringing up of children.

(*c*) In a certain junior class in a high school the boys were in the habit of occupying the front row of seats in the recitation

room. On entering the class one day, they found company occupying their accustomed places, so they sat in the second row of seats. During the progress of the recitation one of the boys unconsciously put his hand on the back of the seat in front of him, and as it was not securely fastened, it moved. The teacher noted the act; and thinking the boy did it purposely, she asked him to come up and sit on the front seat beside the company. This the boy did, rather embarrassed, however, at having the attention of all centred on him. To hide his embarrassment he took from his pocket a small spoon, and began to play with it. The teacher, thinking he did this to aggravate her, and not realizing it was merely because he was embarrassed, asked the boy to give it to her, saying she wanted it for a souvenir. This second attack angered the boy, and aroused his stubbornness, and he refused to give up the spoon. Upon this refusal the teacher lost control of herself and became very angry, saying, "You can either give me the spoon or leave the class." The boy immediately rose to leave, and as he was passing out of the door the teacher told him he could not return to class again until he made a public apology. This the boy refused to do, not feeling it was right to ask him to do this when he had not offended intentionally or maliciously. Later, the case went before the school board, and they decided that he could return to class without making an apology.

(*d*) Last year my work lay among the children of all nationalities (save Americans) in a suburb of Chicago, devoted exclusively to manufacturing interests. I stopped at the building of a fellow principal one afternoon, and saw a strange spectacle. Medeo Cassakio was standing facing the teacher, chewing gum and pulling it forth in that refined way most teachers have seen; Tony Napoli was half-standing at his desk, waving his hand most forcibly; and Sam Raczykowski, poor sullen Sam, who bore a chronic grudge against the universe, was standing facing the teacher too, wagging his head and grumbling in an undertone. And the teacher — she sat there smiling, and urging on their efforts whenever they showed signs of flagging. She explained that these boys were so fond of these chewings and hand-wavings and grumblings that repeated warnings had been in vain. "So," she continued, in a manner which intimated she thought she was doing the boys a favor, "I told them I 'd stay with them this evening, and let them enjoy themselves in this manner as long as they pleased. I am enjoying it as much as they are; in fact, more, perhaps, for strange as you might think it, they say they don't

want to do it any more. But I think such fun as this ought to last till supper time."

It did n't last long, but it lasted long enough to give the boys a surfeit of their pet vices. This was good discipline, with this particular principal and these particular fifth-graders, because : (1) It seemed so just to them. (2) There was no nagging. The teacher was acting like a "good fellow" with them — only *too* good. (3) It appealed to their sense of humor, more effective than their sense of pain, for the poor lads were used to that at home. After that, even Sam, the hardest problem of the trio, used to stop short at the first grumble when he met her quizzical glance.

XV. METHODS OF CORRECTION

1. Is corporal punishment as a method of correction declining or increasing in importance in the school in which you received your elementary education? Give the detailed evidence upon which your opinion is based.

2. Has the conduct of the pupils in the elementary school, referred to in question 1, improved since you were a pupil therein? Or are the pupils less well-behaved than they were formerly? Be careful to give an abundance of definite, accurate data in support of your view.

3. If you find a change taking place in the conduct of pupils in the elementary school in which you were trained, show what has produced or is now producing this change, whether for better or for worse. Has corporal punishment had anything to do with it? What is the evidence in the case?

4. Were you at any time in your elementary-school career under a teacher who never made use of corporal punishment in correction of the errors of pupils? If so, describe in detail the methods employed by this teacher, and their success or failure in maintaining "good order" in the school.

5. Describe an elementary-school teacher you know well who freely employs the rod or the ferule in the schoolroom. Why does he need to make use of these instruments

of discipline? Does he have "good order" in his school? Do his pupils like him? Do they respect him? Do they make rapid advances in their work under him? Do not allow yourself, in discussing these questions, to be influenced by current theories regarding the matters to which they relate.

6. As a rule, do men teachers make use of corporal punishment in the schoolroom more freely than women teachers? Or is it the other way around? Whatever you find the tendency to be, explain it.

7. Are there any methods of correction that may be said to be predominantly feminine in character, and others that may be said to be predominantly masculine in character? If so, make out lists in both cases.

8. Do you know any person, man or woman, who has arrived at full maturity without ever having received corporal punishment for wrong-doing? If so, describe carefully the social and ethical status of this individual. Say whether he is self-controlled, whether he adapts himself readily to the people about him, whether he is liked by his associates, and so on.

9. Do you know any person who was whipped a great deal during his childhood and youth? If so, describe in detail his present social and ethical status. Say, also, whether he seems now to have a happy disposition, and to be optimistic about life in general.

10. Have you observed that corporal punishment is more in vogue in the country than in the city? or have you noticed that the reverse is true? In any event, explain the situation as you find it.

11. Have you observed that parents are using the rod to-day less than they did when you were a child? Are they using it more? What is the evidence? Does it make a difference whether the parents are in the city or in the country?

12. Do native-born German parents use the rod more

freely than American parents? How is it with Irish parents? with Scandinavian parents? with English parents?

13. Were you ever whipped when you were a pupil in the high school? Have you observed any one who was corrected in this way in the high school? If so, describe the matter in detail, and state your opinion respecting the effect of the punishment upon the offender.

14. John Locke would whip a child if he was obstinate. Describe a genuine concrete case of obstinacy in a child, show what gave rise to it, how it was handled, and with what results.

15. Plutarch thought it brutalized a child to strike him. Have you known cases in corroboration of Plutarch's view? Have you known cases in corroboration of just the opposite of this view? Describe the cases in detail.

16. Rousseau and Spencer maintained that a child should be made to appreciate the ill consequences upon his own welfare of any wrong act for which he might be responsible. In the light of your own experience, discuss the view held by these writers.

17. Make out a list of typical misdeeds of a child one year old, which might be readily and effectively corrected by the method of "natural consequences." Make out such a list for a child three years old. Ten years old. A youth nineteen years old.

18. Make out a list of typical misdeeds of a child one year old that cannot easily be corrected by the method of "natural consequences." Make out such a list for a child five years old. Ten years old. Fifteen years old.

19. What proportion of the adults you know well (including yourself) are wont to ascribe their social adversities to their own unfortunate social attitudes? Discuss the matter at length, illustrating your position with definite concrete cases.

20. Discuss the use of sarcasm as a means of correction for wrong-doing. Cite cases of sarcastic teachers and

parents, and describe their influence upon the children they have trained.

21. In the same way discuss the use of ridicule as a means of correction for wrong-doing, and give instances of the success or failure of this mode of procedure.

22. Also, discuss scolding as a means of correction, and give concrete instances, as in 21.

23. What is the social and educational significance of the term "an incorrigible child"? Describe such a child, and give an account of his upbringing.

24. If you had been asked to advise Mr. R——, mentioned in the following note, regarding the control of his school, what counsel would you have given him?

Mr. R—— was a good teacher so far as presenting his subjects was concerned; but when it came to disciplining a school, he was sadly at fault. In the first place, his personal appearance was somewhat against him, and his actions only served to emphasize the defects, so that he was the butt of all the students' jokes. He was nervous and excitable, and very inquisitive. If there was any commotion in the rear of the room, he would rush down there, to see what the trouble was, and of course everybody would be innocent. He insisted upon getting and reading every note that was thrown across the room, and this delighted the pupils, for often the notes were blank sheets of paper carefully folded, or some joke about Mr. R—— himself. If he was conducting a class in the assembly room, he would interrupt the class perhaps half a dozen times, to go to pick up a note, or to talk to some pupil who was whispering; or perhaps he would violently slam his book on the desk, and say, — "We will have to wait until this noise ceases." The noise would cease for just about five minutes. When the class had resumed work, it would be worse than ever. Not a day passed but what Mr. R—— had a long list of names of people to stay after school. But this was n't much of a penalty, for they always had such a good time, and made so much noise, that he usually dismissed them before the time was up. The poor man put up with this behavior on the part of the students for about half a year, and then, realizing that he had no control over them, he resigned and left town.

25. How would you deal with a case like the following?

R. was one of the smartest boys in my school, but he had never been forced to any line of conduct; so, forming a dislike for Mr. A.'s authority, he sought in every manner to annoy and thwart him. Other

teachers avoided coming into contact with his will by a series of diplomatic movements. When in Mr. A.'s classes, R. broke every rule of behavior that could possibly be formed. He ate candy, threw paper, talked in an undertone, and even walked around the room, calling on his different friends. In the literary society, should a friend be the president, no better behaved boy was present. Even when some one he disliked occupied the chair, his conduct was angelic beside his usual school behavior. When he himself was president, he demanded and usually obtained the perfect order which enabled a society to have a good record and produce good work. In the meetings of the athletic club, his conduct, while not always perfect, was a large per cent better than in school. In the meetings of his class, because he disliked one girl, he took advantage of every chance to be on the opposite side. It always seemed to me that it was his great love for a combat of will power which made him so disagreeable. Had some one crushed him, probably he would not have continued ; but he was always victorious, and enjoyed not only the victory, but the fact that it brought him before the school, and made the eyes of the students large with wonder at his daring.

26. Below are described a number of typical cases of correction in the home and in the school. Discuss each case, indicating what principle is involved, and give your opinion as to whether the most effective method was employed in each instance.

(*a*) One of the eighth-grade pupils in a Western school had been a constant source of trouble to his teacher. Whenever the boy misbehaved, the teacher became exasperated and lost his temper in trying to correct him. One day Harry was refused permission to go to the Library, just off the main room. The boy went in spite of the refusal. He was requested to remain in his seat during recess in punishment for it. But thinking he could overrule the teacher, he got up to leave. The teacher caught him by the collar, and was about to administer a few blows, when the boy turned and struck him several times. The next day the boy was expelled from school, and being idle during the day, he grew constantly worse outside the school.

(*b*) A little girl had received a piano as a present. As long as practicing proved a novelty, she was quite willing to play without being told. However, after a couple of years had passed she grew tired of practicing incessantly, and no amount of reasoning, coaxing, or scolding could make her practice as she should. Finally, her father, after talking about an hour, sent

her with a note to her music teacher, stopping the lessons, and he made a pretense of selling the piano. This was kept up for over a week in spite of the girl's tears and protestations, and proved so effective that her parents had no more trouble with her.

(*c*) One of the most effective punishments my mother ever inflicted upon me, was to deprive me of the privilege of helping her with the household duties. Not usually a very industrious child, immediately upon committing some deed I knew to be wrong, I was filled with a great desire to help everybody. My mother's gentle but firm remark, "I don't need any of your help to-day," left me to my otherwise well-loved play or story-books. But the stronger the realization that I could not be of any help, the greater my desire to work, and the more positive the decision never to transgress again.

(*d*) A new gymnasium had just been completed, and arrangements made for the various grades to use it. Because of their excitement and desire to get into the new work, the seventh-grade pupils were so disorderly in going down for the first time, that complaints of disturbance came from several other rooms. Their teacher, Miss A., reprimanded them gently, telling them how other children were disturbed. But she was new, so they resolved to try her, and the next time they were even more noisy than before. This time she said nothing about it, and such remarks as "she 's easy," were heard on the playground, for they thought they had won out. It happened that the sixth and seventh grades were seated together, and as it was desired to take but one grade to the gymnasium at a time, arrangements were made with Miss L., a high-school girl, to remain with the other class. The time for the next class came. The children hastily put away their books, and were ready to dash downstairs, many of them bent on mischief. Miss L. appeared at the door. Miss A. said quietly, but so the class could hear, "We do not need you to-day, Miss L., thank you. There is to be no gymnastic work at this hour." All was quiet then. The plans of the children were foiled ; the day was won. When dismissed, the children overdid the matter of going downstairs quietly, to the extent of not doing it naturally. Miss A. made no comment. She knew the unnaturalness would wear off better without it. Many of the children appeared with rubbers on the next day, though it was bright and sunny, because they thought they would go downstairs more quietly with them on. The class was never omitted again, nor did any more complaints come from the other teachers.

(*e*) Next door to us lives a boy of about twelve years of age. He

is an orphan, and his grandfather and grandmother are attempting to bring him up. Like most boys of his age, he has tried to smoke; and he and several of his companions will go anywhere out of the grandfather's sight and smoke. When his grandfather first discovered him, he grasped him by the arm and led him into the house, and we knew something serious was about to happen. It was not long before we heard the boy screaming. We could hear his grandfather whipping him, scolding him, and even swearing at him. The very next day, however, this boy was caught again at the same trick, and he received the same punishment; but it did not cure him. The boy was willing to take the chances of escaping his grandfather. The punishment he received only made him angry and stubborn, and he grew very heartily to dislike his grandfather. He was a boy who was lovable if approached in the right manner, and he would do almost anything for you if you would only treat him kindly.

(*f*) It was not long before another case of discipline for smoking came to my notice, which amused me at first, but which proved the wiser of the two methods. The second boy's father discovered him in his lumber yard smoking the stub of an old cigar he had found. He had evidently just begun at it. When he saw his father, he was about to throw away the cigar, but his father said, "No, don't do that; come with me and finish smoking it." He took the child to his place of business, and saw that he finished the cigar. Of course, it made the boy deathly sick, but he could only blame himself. He was very much ashamed. He begged his father not to tell anybody about it, and, as far as I know, he has never tried smoking since that time.

(*g*) When my little nephew was three years old, he was possessed of the disagreeable habit of biting people. It seemed an uncontrollable passion with him. He could never resist the temptation to test the strength of his strong white teeth. One day, when he had made the matter very serious by biting his baby sister's fingers severely, his mother realized that something desperate must be done. It happened that at this time his baby sister was the possessor of six sturdy little teeth, which had had excellent training upon an ivory ring. The mother bade the boy to put his finger into baby's mouth, in order to discover how many teeth she had. The little fellow immediately complied with the request, and a moment later he withdrew his hand with a shriek of pain. He had at last discovered the sensation caused by a bite. This experience cured the child of his unfortunate habit.

(*h*) A boy of about five years was an only child in a family. One day he was playing with the kitten, pulling its tail and ears, and putting his fingers in its eyes, until finally his mother interfered, and told him very gently that it hurt the kitten. He paid no attention to her, but kept on. She finally offered him candy if he would stop. He took the candy greedily, keeping one hand on the cat; and when the candy was gone, and his mother had turned her attention to something else, he went back again to the cat. His mother continued to buy him off with candy until the supply was exhausted, when she administered a few slaps, with the promise of his receiving harder ones when his father should return. This only made him sulky and obstinate, and when the cat was forcibly removed from his grasp, he lay on the floor and screamed lustily.

(*i*) A boy in the fifth grade had a habit of laughing aloud when anything out of the ordinary happened in school. Often in his work something would "strike him funny" and he would give a very audible and annoying ha ! ha ! The teacher tried corporal punishment at last, but it was of no avail. She was not strong enough to whip the boy so that it would hurt him. He had no fear of the whipping, and took it rather as a joke. The annoyance to the teacher brought no great dissatisfaction to him, nor deprived him of any privilege, so he had no incentive to stop laughing for his own good.

(*j*) The incident I am about to relate took place in a fourth-grade penmanship class. One of the boys in this class had a tendency to do little things to aggravate the teacher. At first the latter tried to overlook many of the things which this boy did, thinking that by so doing she might through kindness get him to mend his ways. Finally, however, seeing that this device was not going to work, she decided to try another plan.

One day she told the class to place their pens on their desks, and when she gave the signal they were all to take them up at the same time and begin writing. This boy, however, decided he did not want to take up his pen with the others, so when the signal was given he made no attempt to take up his pen. The teacher, on observing this, said not a word, but immediately walked down to where the boy was sitting, took him by the coat collar, and marched him out of the room, telling him that when he was ready to go on and do things when he was told to, he might come back. The boy remained out of the room only a short time. He then returned, quietly took his seat, and thereafter was ever ready to do as he was told.

(*k*) A mother in our neighborhood had a child, a little girl, about

eight years old, who continually disobeyed every wish or command of her mother. Finally, as a last resort, the despairing mother said: "If you do that again, I will put you in the dark cellar." The child turned away and disobeyed. Immediately the mother put the girl in the cellar as threatened. For a very short time all was quiet, then followed the most fearful, terrorized, heartrending yells. The trembling mother standing outside the door was almost as frightened as the child, until she heard the yells abruptly cease, and a low moan follow; and then she tore the door open, and picked up the pale and unconscious child. The child did not seem any more obedient after this experience; but as a result of the punishment she is to this day "scared to death" of the dark.

(*l*) When I was about nine years old I attended a country school. One of the boys of the school was very fond of whispering. The teacher soon began to make him stand in the corner every time he did it. I am sure that boy stood in the corner at least twice every day during the entire eight months of the school year. This punishment was futile, for the boy continued to whisper whenever it was possible.

(*m*) My brother (age seven) had been forgetting to put on his overshoes before coming home from school at the noon hour. He was reminded of it time after time when he started off in the morning, but every noon he came home without them and got his scolding. After this had been going on for some time, he was met at the door one noon, and not allowed to enter the house. He was sent back to the schoolhouse for his overshoes. He protested and cried, but he had to go back — a distance of about five blocks — before he could have his dinner. And it was the very last time he forgot his overshoes.

XVI. SUGGESTION

1. Plato would not allow the young to listen to stories that described sacred beings as indulging in any coarse or immoral practices, lest they should derive vicious suggestions therefrom. Do we permit our children to hear any stories of this character? Be specific in your reply.

2. Plato would banish from the nursery and the schoolroom all stories describing ugly or horrible people or things, so that the young might not become acquainted with such objects. Do we banish such stories from present-day nurser-

ies or schoolrooms? Is the effect of these stories unwholesome? Why?

3. Plato would not allow children to hear tales of ogres or goblins or other beings which would frighten them. Do we agree with Plato in our present-day practice? Make out a list of tales commonly told to children, in which the element of fear is the dominant one.

4. In telling children the story of Little Red Riding-hood, say, would you omit or transform the scene in which the wolf eats the grandmother? Why?

5. In the light of our discussion of suggestion, speak of the benefit or the harm that would come to a child from reading each of the following, as types: (*a*) The Iliad and the Odyssey; (*b*) The Old Testament; (*c*) The Greek Myths; (*d*) Old English Folk Tales; (*e*) Mother Goose; (*f*) Æsop's Fables; (*g*) Siegfried; (*h*) Beowulf; (*i*) Robin Hood; (*j*) Knights of the Round Table; (*k*) Robinson Crusoe; (*l*) Alice in Wonderland; (*m*) Hiawatha; (*n*) The Great Stone Face; (*o*) Lady Nicotine; (*p*) The King of the Golden River.

6. Discuss the psychological and social effects upon the young of (*a*) a book like "Peck's Bad Boy" (*b*); the sort of book people have in mind when they describe it as a "Sunday-school book"; (*c*) the "funny page" of the Sunday newspaper.

7. Plato would not permit children to hear stories in which death was depicted as an undesirable or dreadful experience. Do we tell such stories to our children? Is the effect good or otherwise? Why?

8. Speak in particular upon the social and moral value on childhood of (*a*) fairy tales; (*b*) myths; (*c*) fables.

9. Should children be told ghost stories? Give your reasons in full.

10. Plato would not allow a boy to "sow wild oats"; Locke would give him greater latitude. With whom do you take sides? Why?

11. Plato would not permit the young to listen to music which suggested softness or indolence or luxury, — the Ionian and the Lydian harmonies, for example. Do we think there are any harmonies which our children should not hear? If so, what ones are generally condemned?

12. Which of our familiar melodies suggest indolence, luxury, and softness? Would you banish these from the home and the school? Why?

13. Which of our melodies frequently heard suggest (*a*) courage, (*b*) fortitude, (*c*) endurance, (*d*) calmness, (*e*) temperance? (*f*) charity, (*g*) humility, (*h*) courtesy? Would you give them a prominent place in the training of children? Why?

14. What is the effect upon the young of songs such as: —

(*a*) Little Annie Rooney.

(*b*) There 'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night.

(*c*) Yankee Doodle.

(*d*) The Star-Spangled Banner.

(*e*) Should Auld Acquaintance be Forgot?

(*f*) Dixie.

15. Plato and Aristotle would not allow such musical instruments as the flute to be heard by children. Would you banish certain instruments from the home and the school? Why? Give specific evidence showing the good and evil effects of different instruments.

16. Locke maintains that when a mother addresses her young daughter as "My Little Queen," "My Lovely Princess," and so on, she cultivates vanity in the child. Do you agree? Discuss the matter by citing definite cases where good or ill results have followed from this practice.

17. Locke maintains, also, that when parents beat their children they suggest cruelty to them, and so corrupt them. Do you agree? Discuss this question in connection with the adage, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

18. Further, Locke declares that when parents urge their children to eat, saying to them, "What can I get you that

you would like?" and so on, they suggest intemperance and gluttony to them. Discuss Locke's view.

19. In present-day educational literature one often reads the following statement: "It is impossible to make a child good by punishing him." What do those who make such a statement mean by it? How do they think a child can be made good? Discuss the whole matter.

20. Will the praising of a neighbor's children by a mother tend to make her own children imitate those who are praised? Give specific examples to illustrate your view of the matter.

21. Suggest practicable and effective methods of dispelling a child's fear of the dark, and state the principle upon which each method is based.

22. Comment on this method, suggested in a recent book on the training of children, — "Tell the child who is afraid of the dark that the flowers, grass, trees, birds, and so on, are sleeping peacefully and happily out in the night."

23. Suppose a child has a tendency to become angry upon slight provocation, particularly in his relations with certain individuals, — could you assist him by suggestion to control himself?

24. Could you, by suggestion, cure a child of the habit of biting his nails? Describe a case of this sort you have known.

25. Discuss the following in the light of the principles of suggestion, — "A soft answer turneth away wrath."

26. In the same way discuss this sentiment, — "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."

27. Also this, — "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

28. Many children under present-day urban conditions are "finicky" about their food. Parents, as a rule, urge them, usually against their desires, to eat certain dishes because they are nutritious. Often a parent talks to a child before he goes to the table, telling him he must eat this or

that article, whether he likes it or not, since it is good for him, and he must do as the others do, and so on. Comment on this method of influencing a child's dietetic habits.

29. If in discussing the above question you do not approve of the parent's methods, suggest the course that should be pursued with a "finicky" child, and state the principles involved.

30. Make out a list of poems best adapted to suggest the attitudes mentioned in problem 13.

31. In the same way make out a list of pictures in accordance with instructions given in problem 13.

32. Are pupils in the high school more easily or less easily influenced by suggestion on the part of the teacher than pupils in the lower grades of the elementary school? Which group of pupils is the more responsive to physical environments?

33. Are people born and bred in the country more easily or less easily influenced by suggestion than people born and bred in the city? What is the evidence bearing on this problem?

34. Is Hawthorne's story of "The Great Stone Face," already referred to, psychologically sound? If so, extend the principle to familiar situations of daily life.

35. Is there anything in the common saying that a husband and a wife grow in time to look alike? Work out the principle involved.

36. Through a careful study of national and individual character and temperament, show what is the peculiar influence, if any, upon human nature of living in these various regions:—

(*a*) In the mountains, as at Leadville, or
(*b*) On the prairie, as in North Dakota.
(*c*) By the seashore, as at Boston.
(*d*) On the banks of great rivers, as the Mississippi or the Rhine.
(*e*) In regions noted for clouds and fog, as London or Seattle.
(*f*) In regions noted for sunshine, as Monte Carlo or Southern California.

(*g*) In regions of perpetual summer, as in Florida.
(*h*) In regions of well-nigh perpetual winter, as in northern Sweden.
(*i*) In regions of changing seasons, as in Berlin or Madison.
(*j*) In regions barren of flowers and all vegetation, as at Butte.

37. What is the influence upon the young of reading the details of crimes in the newspapers? What is the influence upon adults? Cite concrete instances to illustrate your answer.

38. What is the influence upon boys of reading Cooper's novels? Cite specific cases.

39. Is it good policy to allow criminally inclined persons to witness the execution of one condemned to death for crime? Why?

40. A university professor, upon reading Scott's "Social Education," wrote out the following comments and questions. He proposes a number of problems involving principles of suggestion, and other principles of social development and education. Discuss each problem in the light of principles developed in the text: —

In chapter i, Professor Scott's main thesis seems to be: The schools must develop *individual liberty* together with *public responsibility*. Liberty is to be realized by self-direction, self-organization, self-control; responsibility is to be realized by obedience to the authority of teachers, of parents, of social causes.

This chapter has helped to raise anew in my mind the greatest problem of the teacher, — how can he coördinate his efforts to develop in his students *individuality wisely directed for social responsibility?* As I see the matter, the efforts of a teacher are to be expended —

(1) As an instructor: imparting information, knowledge.
(2) As a director: supervising individual activities in acquiring and imparting knowledge.
(3) As a leader: inspiring individual service for society.

Several questions and a few criticisms and observations I desire to offer, as to proper coördination of these efforts.

(1) Does the above classification cover all of a teacher's duties?
(2) Are there any fields in which a teacher's only duty is imparting information? Not many teachers bridge the gap between the first and the second divisions. Nine tenths of the teachers of

my high-school and college days did nothing more than impart information.

(3) Would it not be folly to attempt to suggest social relationships in a class in Greek grammar, for instance ?

(4) How far can one wisely attempt to keep these activities distinct ? Can the teacher say to himself, " To-day, I will impart information only ; to-morrow, I will stimulate independent thought in a certain class ; the next day, I will have an opportunity to create a desire for public service " ?

(5) Or is " character " (which may be called an unselfish desire to serve society) " a by-product," as President Wilson says ? Is it something to be absorbed unconsciously by students ?

(6) To what extent may a teacher *moralize* in the classroom ; for instance, in American History in dealing with the life of Hamilton, the raid of John Brown, or the recognition of Panama ?

(7) One of the wealthy men of ——, with whom I play golf, frequently refers to the university in his town as " that —— socialistic institution." He unsparingly condemns the attitude taken by " advanced thinkers." If a teacher dares not express what he *believes*, does he not lose most of his power of inspiration ?

(8) I once took a course in economics under a man who would never commit himself as to his own belief. We did not know whether he was a high-tariff or a free-trade man. Is this the right attitude for the teacher to assume ? Does it not create the impression among students that the teacher is timid, or in a state of doubt himself ? Would it not be better frankly to state one's private judgment ? If the teacher has rightly stimulated independence and freedom on the part of his students, may he not safely expound his convictions, if he is careful to state the other side ? Indeed, is not the right to disagree with the instructor an essential element in creating *liberty ?*

(9) Of certain men I have heard it said by students who are preparing for examination : " Well, old —— has this hobby. *He* believes so and so. Just touch him on that point and jar the other fellow, if you want a high mark." What is the influence of such a teacher upon his pupils ?

(10) After all, is not real power of leadership, in a teacher as in any other person, an indefinable element of personality, which cannot be reduced to rules or even analyzed ? If a teacher finds himself studying the laws of leadership in order that he may *inspire*, does he not thereby show that he has no inspirational qualities which can make him a leader ?

XVII. IMITATION

1. Describe the first imitative act of any child you know. What was the age of the child at the time the imitation occurred? Give the evidence showing it was a genuine act of imitation.

2. Describe in detail the intellectual and any other results of the first imitations of a child.

3. Write out a list of the more common dramatic performances of a typical year-old city boy. Of a typical year-old girl. Are there any essential differences between the two?

4. Write out a list of the ordinary impersonations of a city-bred boy of seven. Of a city-bred girl of this age. What are the essential distinctions between them?

5. What do city boys of the age of fifteen imitate most freely? What do city girls imitate? Describe a concrete case in each instance.

6. Show in what respects the imitations and impersonations of boys and girls born and bred in the country differ from those of children in the city. Account for any differences you find.

7. What aspect of the life about them do children reproduce more or less faithfully in their sandpiles? Does it make a difference whether the children are five, eight, or twelve years of age? Are there differences between city and country children?

8. Describe in detail a concrete case of doll play on the part of a girl of four years of age. In what way does this play change as the girl develops?

9. Discuss the value of doll play for a girl. Ask some woman in whose judgment you have confidence just what benefit or injury she thinks she received from doll play. Would boys receive benefit from playing with dolls?

10. Is there any object that serves the boy in his play as the doll serves the girl? Observe this matter for yourself, and then ask parents to give their opinion.

11. Is the game of marbles imitative? Is it impersonative? Work this matter out in detail.

12. What type of person in the community you know best is most freely impersonated by girls of ten years of age? by girls of fifteen years of age? by boys of these ages?

13. Describe the characteristics of the teacher whom you imitated most largely during your own school career. Say why this particular teacher had so marked an influence upon you. Did he or she have a similar influence upon your classmates?

14. As you look back over your school life, do you find any teachers whom you endeavored not to copy in any respect? If so, say why they should have affected you in this way.

15. Are you conscious of copying any individual at your present stage of development? If so, in what particulars, and why? Do you meet persons who stimulate you to do just the opposite from what they do themselves?

16. Describe a case of a child or an adult who acquired stuttering, stammering, facial twitching, or any other peculiarity through imitation.

17. Have you known of families in which a dissolute father was the means of making his children severely abstinent? Discuss the principles involved.

18. Have you known of irritable, fault-finding, shrewish mothers who have had self-controlled, quiet, considerate daughters? Discuss the principles involved.

19. In your opinion, what are the advantages of co-education in the elementary school? in the high school? in the college? Are there disadvantages?

20. In the co-educational high school you know best, do the boys set the fashion in dress and conduct for the girls? Is it the other way around? Or are the sexes uninfluenced by one another in these respects?

21. Could you duplicate the following testimony of a school principal? Comment on this testimony from the standpoint of teaching the evils of smoking: —

Several eighth-grade boys who came under my observation last year learned to smoke. They lived in a college town, and played basketball and bowled at the gymnasium, where they fell in with the college fellows. Each of them when individually questioned stated voluntarily that he learned to smoke because the college men approved of it, and rather ridiculed those who did n't. In most instances the boys' fathers did not smoke and disapproved of the habit, and the boys really stood against the use of tobacco themselves, but they could not face the reputation they were likely to have with this one class of associates, in case they did not smoke.

22. The following are concrete examples of imitative and allied activities,[1] discussed in Chapter XVII of the text. Discuss each case, indicating (1) the appropriate age of the child or children whose performances are described; (2) the motive of the performer; (3) the probable effect of the imitation upon the individual's intellectual and emotional processes, and his adjustment to his environment; (4) the influence upon his character of his impersonation of people or things: —

(*a*) I watched this child for twenty minutes, and this is what he did. He came out of the house, and set off at a trot round and round the house. He looked serious. Now and then he stopped, and said something to himself. A girl came out of the house, and attempted to lead him in. He shook her off, saying, " I 'm going to be a horse ! " and began to trot round the house again. After a time he went up to the side of the house, pawed the ground with his feet, and acted like a horse going into a stall.

(*b*) Arthur amused himself a part of the afternoon playing feed the pig. He had a tin pail, into which he put whatever he could lay his hands on. He carried this to a corner of the room and emptied it. He held his arm very stiff when he carried the full pail, as if it were heavy ; and he would raise the pail slowly, taking hold of the bottom to empty it. On the way back he would swing the pail lightly. I looked in the corner, and found many cards, six tin boxes, some box covers, spools, clothespins, apples, a doll, and other toys. He had been talking about his pig ; and when he saw me looking at the things he said, " I 's feeding my pig."

[1] A number of them are taken, with some modifications, from Russell, *Child Observations.*

(*c*) I heard some one in the next room say, "Bang!" Then I heard my father's voice asking Nathan what he was doing. "Shooting partridges," said Nathan. "How many did you get?" "Two." I went to see what Nathan was doing. He had an old stove-hook and some clothespins. He would put two clothespins inside the hook, and holding it above his head, say, "Bang." He did this eight times.

(*d*) Thomas plays sell meat from a wagon. His wagon is the inside of a table with a long bolt. When he pushes the bolt in he shuts the wagon; when he pulls it out he opens the wagon. He insists on details like this: "Do you want to buy any meat?" "Yes; what kind have you? How much is it a pound?" "Ten cents." "Bring me in two pounds." — "Get your plate and bring out your book." I get a book, as requested, and go to the wagon. He wishes me to stand first on one side and then on the other, that I may see all the meat. He makes believe write in the book, shuts the wagon, and goes on to another customer.

(*e*) A hand-organ man was playing in the street. Tommy stood by, and imitated his movements. The next day I saw Tommy in the yard with some other children, playing for them. His left hand was the organ, and his right hand turned the crank by moving around the left hand. He made the sound "de, de, de," etc. Every few minutes he put his hand over his shoulder as if to fix a strap, and then walked slowly away, as if carrying a heavy load. He then played in another place.

(*f*) Daisy made a little inclosure in a corner of the room by means of chairs, which she called her house. She was a nurse, and the doll was sick. An imaginary doctor was present a part of the time, and she conversed with him about the sickness. After about twenty minutes the house became a schoolroom, and she was a teacher.

(*g*) Della played house with a smaller child. The house was a large mat spread in the yard. On one end was a box, surrounded by four sticks laid in the form of a square. On the box were bits of broken glass and crockery arranged as on a table. This was the kitchen. Outside this was the parlor. Della, seated in her rocking-chair, was rocking her doll, singing, and giving orders to the other child, who was busying herself with the dishes. I heard Della say, "Oh, dear! I want to go to that concert to-night, and I don't see how I can with seven children to take care of. I never saw such a man as my husband is, anyway. He is n't like any other man. He might take care of the baby once in a while, anyway, I should think. Will you go with me if I go?" They played this about an hour.

(*h*) *Lulu.* Uncle O——, I 'm coming to see you, and you must play you are glad to see me.

O——. I can't play now ; I 'm tired.

Lulu. Oh, I won't make you play hard. How do you do ?

O——. How do you do ?

Lulu. You would like to have us come in, would n't you ?

O——. Yes.

Lulu (*to the doll*). The gentleman says he would like to have us come in. (*To O*——) Would you like to have us sit down ?

O——. Yes.

Lulu. Thank you ! we will sit down a few minutes. Don't you think my little girl looks like her mamma ?

O——. I guess so.

Lulu (*to the doll*). Your uncle thinks you look like me, dear. At this point the play was interrupted.

(*i*) Hattie put one of her dolls in my lap, placed my hands around it in a certain way, and told me to rock. She placed another doll in my cousin's lap with the same directions. Pretty soon she said to each of us in a whisper, "She 's asleep," and, taking the dolls, placed them in a chair, and covered them up carefully. Presently she took one up and said, "She 's sick." She then took up the other and said, "You 've been slapping her ; what did you do that for ?" Then, in a feigned voice, "'Cause I wanted to." Resuming her natural voice, she said, "Well, you 'd better not do that again." She laid the sick doll down, and bringing the offender to me, asked me to whip it. I did so, and then she whipped it very vigorously. She then wanted me to go to sleep. She put her arms around my neck, and rocked me back and forth, and said, "You go to sleep, and sleep till I get my apple eaten up." She went on eating an apple, but every little while came to me and rocked me as before. She then wanted to hold me. She sat in a rocking-chair, and I allowed her to hold me and rock me to sleep. She then made believe put me on the bed. During this time she often kissed and patted me.

(*j*) Harry went to a few of the Murphy temperance lectures. I saw him standing on the piazza talking to a boy that plays with him. He tossed his arms, and I knew that he was talking aloud, though I could not hear what he said. I saw him a little later, and asked him what he was playing. He said, "I was n't playing; I was Mr. Murphy then, and I 've made Willie sign the pledge."

(*k*) Frank's father trained a colt. For six days Frank has annoyed his mother by playing that he is a horse. When crossing a room he stamps his feet; sometimes he goes on all fours ; in

the centre of a room he stops suddenly, and kicks into the air, describing a circle as he kicks. At another time he faces the corner of the room, kicks vigorously, and neighs. As a punishment he was shut in a room by himself, but he continued his outlandish guttural sounds. When put in a chair he still kicked and neighed. When asked to do anything he said, "I can't, I 'm a wild horse." On Monday there was to be cottage pudding for dinner, and he is very fond of it. Instead of putting his chair in its usual place, his mother placed it at a side-table, where there was nothing but oats and hay. When his mother put him in his chair he thought she was playing ; then he looked puzzled, and finally cried bitterly, saying, "I ain't a horse, I won't be a horse."

(*l*) Lizzie was teaching Charlie and Della how to play "court." Charlie and Della were on the stairs, and Lizzie was at the foot.

Lizzie. Charlie, are you guilty or not guilty ?

Charlie. Not guilty.

Lizzie. Della, are you guilty or not guilty ?

Della. Yes 'm.

Lizzie. Oh, you must n't say that ; you must say guilty or not guilty.

Della. What is that guilty ?

Lizzie. Oh, you must say guilty if you want to.

Della. Guilty.

Lizzie. Come here ! (*Very sternly.*) Hold out your hand ! (*Lizzie struck the hand.*) Now you 've got to go to prison till you get good.

Della went back to her place on the stairs.

Lizzie. Now the judge is coming around again. Charlie, are you guilty or not guilty ?

Charlie. Not guilty.

Lizzie. You 're a good boy. You can go home and never do so again. (*To Della.*) Now, little girl, are you guilty or not guilty ?

Della. Guilty.

Lizzie. Well, then, I 'll have to punish you some more. Hold out your hand.

Della. No, I won't. When Charlie minds you, you say he 's good. But when I mind you, you say you must punish me.

Lizzie. But you *must* get whipped if you 're guilty.

Della. Well, I 'm not guilty, then.

Lizzie. We won't play that any more, I guess.

(*m*) Three girls were sitting on a doorstep, their faces hidden in their hands. Another girl, a little older, was standing in front

of them, watching them silently. Presently she said, speaking to each in turn, "Your time 's up! Your time 's up! Your time 's up! You can go now!" The three walked away arm in arm, while another girl was put on the doorstep to sit with her face hidden, under the watch of the older girl. In a few minutes the older girl ran after the three who had walked away, and seized them quite roughly. One of the three said angrily, "No, we ain't drunk! Me and Carrie did n't take any beer at all." The older girl said in a behind-the-scenes tone, "Oh, yes; you must!" I walked on, but turned to look back, when I saw the three on the doorstep again.

(*n*) I heard Johnnie and Robbie running around the dining-room, and talking about killing Indians. One said he had killed a lot of Indians, and the other said he had got to find some more Indians to kill. They soon came into the room where I sat, and presently something fell on my dress. I found it to be a hen's feather, with a needle stuck in the end of it. They said it was an arrow. When it stuck upright in anything they said they had killed the Indian, when it inclined they had only wounded him.

(*o*) We had a book containing colored pictures of Indian chiefs, and from this we drew the characters of a favorite game for rainy days. My oldest brother, about twelve, was the chief, my next oldest an old warrior, and a younger one an Indian without a title. The chief had a red cotton handkerchief for a headdress, and a plaid shawl for a blanket. The warrior wore my father's overcoat of hairy cloth. An umbrella handle was a gun, and a broom with a piece of cloth tied around it was a tomahawk. A skein of yarn, when we could get it, was a scalp. My youngest brother and I were the people of a village. When we heard the Indians yell we ran to the fort, a corner of the room barricaded by two old chairs and a broken clothes-horse. I put a stick, my gun, between the bars of the clothes-horse, and shot the chief. The other Indians entered the fort, the chief came to life, and were taken captives. I was dragged out by my hair. I had been told to hold back, and resist as much as possible; but my brother pulled my hair so hard I did not dare to after a first attempt. We were marched around the room three times, and then taken to the Indians' hut to have our fate decided. Once I was allowed to become a squaw, and once I was allowed to escape. The play usually ended with a war dance so noisy that my mother broke it up.

(*p*) Estelle takes a stick, and, pointing to the wall, says to her dolls, "As I point to the notes, you must sing them. Now all

begin at once, and don't lag behind, for that will spoil the others." She then sings the notes herself. Sometimes she shakes one of the dolls, and says, "Now, you will mind the place next time." Last evening, while playing this, she seized a doll, and placed it in the corner, face to the wall, and, after a few minutes, said, "You may go into the dressing-room for making faces when my back is turned, but I saw you. This noon you will go to the office of Mr. T—— to get a whipping."

(*q*) Each of these girls sat in a rocking-chair, holding a doll.

Gertie. How do you do, Missus?

Louise. Pretty well, thank you.

Gertie. Don't this train go fast?

Louise. Oh, awful fast! How is your baby?

Gertie. She is pretty well, only she got her leg broke off the other day. I'm taking her to Washington. The President is going to fix it.

Louise. Oh, that's too bad! How long does it take to go to Washington?

Gertie. Only ten days and a week.

Louise. I should think the poor baby would be dead.

Gertie. Oh, no, Missus! I'm going to be there to-night. My husband lives there. Where are you going, Missus? Your baby is real good, ain't she?

Louise. Yes, ma'am, she is. I'm going to Connecticut. My Cousin Hattie Nichols lives there, and my Aunt Jane lives there.

Gertie. What is your baby's name?

Louise (*after hesitating a moment*). My baby's name is Gertie.

Gertie (*laughing*). Why, that's my name, and my baby's name, too.

Louise. That's funny, ain't it?

Suddenly Louise said, "Ding-dong, ding-dong! now the train must stop." She then tried to make a sound like a train stopping, and said, "This is Connecticut; I'm very sorry to go, but I must. Good-by."

She then left the room.

Gertie now rocked faster than before, and talked to her doll. She said, "Wait a minute, wait a minute; mamma has something in her pocket for you." She took out a rubber ring, and put it on the doll's head, saying, "You're a nice little baby. Here's Washington! Do you see my husband, baby? He's going to take us to the President to fix your poor leg."

She went into the next room, where Louise was arranging a tea-set.

(*r*) My sister and I used to play "prayer-meeting." We arranged our dolls in rows. One of us was the minister. The meeting was as orderly as the meetings of grown people usually are. Our favorite time for playing it was between sunset and supper time, when we could have the sitting-room to ourselves. If any one came into the room, the meeting was at once closed.

(*s*) There was a burying-ground near the schoolhouse. One day several of us buried a doll there. It seems as if the doll were made for the purpose. We carried small bottles of water with us, and wet our eyes with the water, for tears.

(*t*) Marion and Horace went to a circus. After they came home I saw them trying to suspend themselves from a ladder which was resting against a tree, first by their arms, then by their feet. When they were forbidden to do this, they went behind the barn, where they thought they would not be seen, and turned somersaults, and tried jumping over a chair.

(*u*) I used to arrange all the kitchen chairs in a row, and play "school," imagining that the chairs had real occupants. I sat in a chair in front, and used a high-chair for a desk. I called the classes onto the floor, and asked and answered the questions. I enjoyed the play better if my brothers would act as pupils.

(*v*) These boys play "Indian." They have a tent, and wear leather leggings fringed down the outside, gaudy-colored horse-blankets on their shoulders, and cocks' feathers in their caps. Some of them carry light muskets, others popguns, while the smaller ones have only sticks for weapons. I have seen them marching in long line, pounding an old boiler, and sometimes beating a drum.

(*w*) A favorite pastime of ours was to imitate the slaughtering of pigs, which we had often seen. We stretched one another on the floor, and aimed a large knife at the throat. After stabbing we pretended to rip up the body through the centre.

(*x*) These boys frequently have "shows" on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. The last one was an exhibition of pictures by a magic lantern. The entertainment often consists of songs, dialogues, and playing on a harmonica. The actors wear old clothes. They have tickets of admission, for which they ask a certain number of pins.

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